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Part IV.—Proceedings of the Madras Legislature.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Proceedings of an adjourned meeting of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations on Saturday, the 5th day of April 1919	959
Proceedings of an adjourned meeting of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations on Monday, the 7th day of April 1919	999

SUPPLEMENT—

Act No. III of 1919—Madras Agricultural Pests and Diseases Act, 1919—Oriya.

Proceedings of an Adjourned Meeting of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations under the provisions of the Act of Parliament, 5 & 6 Geo. V, Ch. 61.

The Council re-assembled at the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at 11 a.m. on Saturday, the 5th day of April 1919.

PRESENT:

His Excellency the Hon'ble Sir ALEXANDER CARDEW, K.C.S.I., Governor of Madras—*Presiding*.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR Avargal, C.I.E.

The Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON, C.S.I.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER.

The Hon'ble MUHAMMAD AZIZ-UD-DIN HUSAIN SAHIB Bahadur, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., I.S.O., O.B.E.

The Hon'ble Mr. L. E. BUCKLEY, C.S.I.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. Y. G. CAMPBELL, C.I.E.

The Hon'ble Mr. L. T. HARRIS.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. J. HOWLEY.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. HUTTON.

The Hon'ble Mr. R. LITTLEHAILES.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. E. MARJORIBANKS.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. G. MOSCARDI.

The Hon'ble Lieut. Col. W. J. NIBLOCK, I.M.S.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur R. RAMACHANDRA RAO Avargal.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR (*Advocate-General*).
The Hon'ble Mr. H. G. STOKES, C.I.E.
The Hon'ble Mr. R. B. WOOD.
The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur T. RANGA ACHARIYAR Avargal.
The Hon'ble Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. SURYANARAYANA RAO PANTULU.
The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO PANTULU Garu.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. KRISHNA RAO PANTULU.
The Hon'ble Mr. P. SIVA RAO.
The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR.
The Hon'ble Mr. K. SADASIVA BHAT.
The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur V. K. RAMANUJA ACHARIYAR Avargal.
The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR.
The Hon'ble Sri RAJA RAO VENKATA KUMARA MAHIPATI SURYA RAO Bahadur, Raja of Pithāpuram.
The Hon'ble B. RAJA RAJESWARA SETUPATI alias MUTTURAMALINGA SETUPATI Avargal, Raja of Ramnad.
The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU.
The Hon'ble Mr. K. CHIDAMBARANATHA MUDALIYAR.
The Hon'ble YAQUB HASAN SAHIB Bahadur.
The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur A. T. G. M. AHMAD TAMBI MARAKKAYAR SAHIB Bahadur.
The Hon'ble Sir GORDON FRASER, *Kt.*
The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. THONGER.
The Hon'ble Sir FAIRLESS BARBER, *Kt.*
The Hon'ble the Most Rev. JOHN AELEN, D.D.
The Hon'ble Sir FRANCIS SPRING, K.C.I.E.
The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur K. R. SURYANARAYANAMURTI NAYUDU Garu.
The Hon'ble Sri SOBHA CHANDRA SINGH DEO, Zamindar of Serugada.
The Hon'ble Raja, RAJA SRI RAVU VENKATA KUMARA KRISHNA RANGA RAO Bahadur, of Bobbili.

The Council re-assembled at 11 a.m. when the discussion on Resolution XVIII was taken up.

RESOLUTION *RE* IMPROVEMENT OF DRAINAGE CONDITIONS IN THE GODAVARI AND KISTNA DELTAS.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—" The resolution which I have the honour to propose runs thus :—

'XVIII. This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that programme for a continuous improvement of the drainage conditions of the Godavari and Kistna deltas be prepared and published and put into execution as expeditiously as possible.'

" Your Excellency, this is a subject which has engaged the attention of our Council during the last several years. It has come up for discussion in one shape or another and I may submit that the Government have taken the same view which the representatives have taken in the matter of the drainage conditions. It is admitted that the present drainage condition is very defective. Government say that every attempt is being taken to improve the condition of drainage, but the people still complain that the Government do not pay as much attention to drainage as they pay to irrigation for the very good reason that one gives revenue, the other is only taxing the purse. So far as the drainage condition is concerned, any amount spent will be spent without any return—I mean immediate return ; but it will have the effect of bringing contentment and material prosperity to the localities concerned. Unless and until Government take it that it is an equally essential thing to provide drainage, mere taking up of major irrigation works, though possibly helping to the extent of bringing waste lands into cultivation, will not satisfy us so far as the health of the people is concerned. There was a misconception for a long time that the natural outlets would suffice. The drainage conditions provided were found to be inadequate as time passed on and with reference to some of these matters our engineers have given us the assurance that they are unable to do anything. We were told by Mr. Ellis that the Kolair lake drainage condition was a hoary enigma which can never be

solved. On the 29th of March 1915 when the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao moved a resolution that early steps be taken to improve the existing arrangements for the drainage of the Gōdāvari and Kistna deltas, Government were pleased to accept that resolution. As there was not much of improvement, in 1916 the same Honourable Gentleman moved another resolution on the 22nd November which, with some amendments made in the Council, Government were pleased to accept. That was to the effect that the present defective drainage in the Gōdāvari and Kistna deltas should be further investigated and a suitable programme for improving the drainage condition in the above deltas be drawn up. In the year 1916 there was an admission of the defective drainage and also a promise of further investigation and preparation of a suitable programme for improving the drainage arrangements in those two deltas. During the last three years some amount is being spent and I notice in the present budget also some provision is made—Rs. 1,93,000. When a question was put as to what was the amount, Government replied it was Rs. 190 lakhs. Though directly under the head of drainage in the budget I noticed about 140 lakhs, yet Government say they are going to spend 190 lakhs. I may invite the attention of the Council, at the time when the discussion took place in November 1916, Colonel Ellis promised to look into sixteen drainage systems. He promised to do something with regard to the outfall of the Thuliabagha drain. We want to know what was done with reference to the same. He also stated that estimates were being prepared for improving the drainage higher up, with reference to that drain, at a cost of Rs 2,22,000. I do not think much progress is made even in that direction. Then he stated that there are drains intercepted by Kovur-Manjair junction canal for which he suggested a sum of Rs. 36,400 was wanted. Besides that, he said that the large drain, the Ainapur drain, was a thing which should be improved and he suggested Rs. 1,26,300 was wanted for that purpose. He promised that he would call for the estimates for improving outfalls of the seaboard drains at a cost of about 3 lakhs. The same gentleman also suggested that to improve the drainage condition of Yenamadurru drain it required an additional sum of Rs. 3,73,000. I do not know whether any weir and lock were constructed at the head of Kakaraparru to improve the means of disposal of flood water which he suggested would cost about Rs. 45,000. And he suggested a scheme for altering Nilacodu and Bondada drains for the improvement of the drainage of that locality and he gave no estimates for that. He stated that it was not ready at that time. There was also Ryves regulator which he said would cost Rs. 21,500. He also spoke about Gunadala drain and extending the Yambalakodu and diverting the upper part of Peddalanka drain and he lastly stated that for the improvement of Kommileru and Kavatticodu drains and diverting the outfalls to the sea to improve the drainage of 265 miles, all this would come to about 20 to 30 lakhs. But I am glad to learn from our sympathetic officer in charge of this department, the Hon'ble Mr. Howley, that the Government are prepared to spend a larger amount than even this to the extent of 60 lakhs.

"My proposal is modest enough. What I state is that as the Government are willing to admit the defective condition of the drainage and as they see the necessity for improving the condition, I ask that there should be a comprehensive scheme prepared and not only prepared but it should be published, because when it is once published, we will know what the Government are doing, whether they are carrying out the schemes as published, and also I lastly request that it should be put into execution as expeditiously as possible. Persons who have actually seen the drainage condition in these deltas must come to one unanimous conclusion that it is very bad; especially in days when there are floods you will find several villages surrounded with water, several fields submerged and people suffering untold misery. I do not think our engineering skill is inadequate to meet the conditions. There is a general continual complaint with reference to these matters that we do not take a comprehensive view of things, but we only try to meet the conditions as they arise from time to time; that is not a thing which should be done with reference to drainage conditions, but we must have a proper scheme before us.

"I quite admit the difficulty of spending a larger amount in this respect for want of two things. One is labour and also the number of officers who can be secured to devote their time for that purpose, but when it is an essential matter, the easiest way to secure labour is to give wages according to the market rate. When I heard that want of labour was standing in the way of improving the drainage conditions even in the year 1916 I inquired of the people in the parts affected, and they told me that it was not impossible to secure labour, but the Department of Public Works was not prepared to pay the wages at the market rate. I do not understand how it is possible to secure labour unless we are prepared to pay at the rates which they are able to get elsewhere; and when the Government are able to spend even a larger amount, even crores, on railways, they are securing efficient labour and sufficient labour. The answer generally is that they can provide facilities for bringing the coolies from distant places. Some step should be taken and I do not think that want of labour especially in a country like India is a thing which cannot be surmounted. The other thing is very easy to surmount—for the Chief Engineer to appoint proper officers to look after this business. Therefore my earnest appeal is that a programme should be published and steps should be taken to utilize this amount as early as possible. We as laymen may not be able to say within how long a period this could be accomplished. We could not expect it to be done immediately but we expect strenuous efforts to be made and it must be vigorously executed, so that the object should be to secure it and not to allow it to take its own time. We must infuse vigour in the execution of these works and

see that it is done, that every pie in the budget is spent ; though it does not yield revenue, it adds much comfort and material prosperity to the people. Under these circumstances, I hope there would be no difficulty for the Government in accepting such a simple suggestion on the lines on which it was accepted on two previous occasions."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur K. R. SURYANARAYANAMURTI NAYUDU :—" Your Excellency, this is not the first time when this matter is brought up before this Council. It is known to the Public Works Department and to Government that the drainage system in the Gōdāvari and Kistna deltas is defective in most places and in some places it is very very defective. The Hon'ble Mr. Howley who is well acquainted with these deltas, I am sure, will agree with me when I say that the drainage in these deltas is very defective and that it requires early attention and improvement. Some years ago, when the earthernware pipes were introduced to supply water from the irrigation channels, a committee was appointed to send a report. I was also on that committee along with Sir Robert Clegg and Mr. Langston. We went round the Gōdāvari delta and wherever we went there were large complaints regarding this defective drainage. Of course, the Department of Public Works has been doing something here and there, but not to such an extent as the situation requires. So it is highly necessary that a programme should be drawn up for some continuous work and work should be begun as early as possible to spread over some years. Some drains especially in the Gōdāvari Eastern delta are very defective. There are several villages that are submerged every year as soon as the rains set in. Unless these drains are improved, the ryots in those villages who have been suffering will continue to suffer unless immediate steps are taken to improve those drains. With these words I second this resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. J. HOWLEY :—" Your Excellency, the resolution that has just been moved and seconded is very similar to a resolution moved by the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao at a meeting of this Council in November 1916. In that resolution the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao asked for a public inquiry into the state of drainage in the Gōdāvari and Kistna deltas and wanted that a suitable programme should be laid down for improving the drainage in these deltas. The Hon'ble Colonel Ellis in speaking to that resolution admitted that serious losses are suffered by the ryots in the deltas in years of abnormal rainfall, such as in 1916 and 1917. The rainfall between June and December in those two years was more than double the rainfall in 1918 and naturally there has been considerable outcry and considerable attention has been drawn to drainage defects, owing to that reason during the last couple of years. Colonel Ellis pointed out that there are considerable extents of swampy lands under cultivation which always suffer and have always suffered from defective drainage. The Government are, however, under no obligation to drain such lands except as part of a productive scheme. The cases which call for preferential treatment are obviously cases where owing to the extension of irrigation, the construction of canals, channels and so on the original natural lines of drainage have in some ways been interfered with or rendered less efficient. The resolution then moved by the Hon'ble Mr Ramachandra Rao was accepted by Government in a modified form omitting the words 'public inquiry' which it was pointed out would serve no useful purpose as it would elicit information already in possession of Government.

" Government do not dispute the fact that improvements are necessary in the drainage in regard to both the Gōdāvari and Kistna deltas—both expensive and extensive improvements—but the execution of these improvements in a liberal scale during the last few years has been held up and delayed solely owing to financial considerations. Estimates have been prepared and sanctioned and the supervising establishment is available and all that is wanting is the money to pay for the works. Once all these estimates are for works not remunerative they require the sanction of the Government of India and that is one difficulty in preparing a definite programme. We cannot say definitely that any proposals sent by this Government will be accepted by the Government of India. In the case of some drains sent up in 1910 or 1912 by this Government, the Government of India strongly objected to the very high cost which land bore as compared with the cost of the scheme. By degrees the cultivation extended to the low water margin of these drains. When we want to widen and improve a drain say at a cost of about Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1 200, they agree ; there is not much difficulty. But in regard to the one drain which I am referring to the Polraz, the compensation was something like Rs. 30,000 as against Rs. 10,000, the cost of actual work. The Government of India refused to sanction it and it was sent back and they said that they did not see why public money should be spent in improving the condition of these low-lying lands which have no doubt been assessed at a lower rate and which only brought in to Government a water-rate on the crop.

" In accepting that resolution, the Government undertook to prepare programmes of improvements to be carried out. Programmes of drainage improvements were accordingly obtained from local officers and these programmes amounted to 25·76 lakhs for Gōdāvari and 34·77 lakhs for the Kistna delta. The total of these two deltas is no less than 60·73 lakhs. It must be remembered that these programmes represent merely the proposals made by the local officers ; in most cases detailed plans and estimates have still to be prepared and then they have to be sent up to the Government of India. The programmes are only really proposals made tentatively. We have already on hand sanctioned estimates for what can be executed during the next few years, so that the want of a complete and comprehensive programme, referred to by the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju is not delaying the work in any way. For example, in Gōdāvari delta we

have estimates aggregating to 5·99 lakhs already sanctioned; detailed proposals have been received and are understood to be in progress and proposals are under scrutiny for works which would cost over 11 lakhs and more. I am afraid I have omitted to note the amount in the Kistna delta, but we have received estimates amounting to a considerable amount which are now under scrutiny prior to submission to the Government of India. I am directed to accept the Honourable Member's motion for a preparation and publication of programmes of drainage works on the understanding that the programmes should not be considered to be exhaustive or final programmes embracing all works to be carried out in the next 20 or 30 years. It is quite impossible. These programmes must be tentative subject to alteration as we go on. The programmes that Government propose to publish will merely be lists of works arranged more or less in the order of urgency, which as at present advised, they propose to carry out subject to the allotment of funds and the sanction of the Government of India where necessary. There are also several large estimates which have been sanctioned during the last few years by the Government of India for execution after the war and we have recently written to the Government of India asking permission to put these works in hand at once amounting to about 7 lakhs.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju referred to the Anantapur drain, the sanctioned estimate of which amounts to Rs. 1,45,000. The work is now in hand. We sent orders and recently there was half a lakh allotted for this work last year but at the instance of the Government of India, it was withdrawn and surrendered to the Government of India. The amount has been now reallotted and local officers have been ordered to put the work in hand at once. He also referred to the Tuliabagha which has an outlet in the Cocanada drain. That has a lot of reed and brush-wood.

"We find that the type of dredgers available at Gōdāvari are not suitable and we propose to wait for further improvements to be carried out till the arrival of suction dredgers from Home, which will do the work much more rapidly and usefully even for other drains. It is proposed to get two or three of these for both the Kistna and Gōdāvari deltas. The Honourable Member also referred to the sea-board drains of Panchanadhi and others. They are tidal drains which cannot be cleared by hand labour. The bucket dredgers are not suitable for dredging on a large scale and we must get some big dredgers which we will do as soon as possible.

"I should like to point out that the rates at which these works can be carried out must depend entirely upon the labour available. The Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju seemed rather sceptical as to there being any difficulty about labour, but I can assure him that there is the greatest possible difficulty to face. Even when we offer the extra inducement of a bonus, we find that we do not get on very much faster. The higher rates do not seem to make much difference. That same thing was decided at a conference some years ago at Ootacamund for tank restoration schemes. One of the questions under consideration then was whether the increase of rates would improve our outturn and it was decided for various reasons that it would not help the work in the same way unless we raise the rates very considerably. I do not think it would make much difference in these drains. We had a big drain mentioned by the Honourable Member the Yenemadurru drain, estimates for which have been sanctioned by the Government of India for Rs. 3,41,000. It was eight years under execution on an average expenditure of Rs. 45,000 a year. There is another big drain in Tanjore costing Rs. 1,70,000 which is six years under execution for the same reason. The labour difficulty is the difficulty everywhere, especially in the Gōdāvari and Kistna deltas where there has been considerable expansion of the second crop. These drains can be attended to by dredging only during the dry season. We are not getting coolies in the dry season. Local labour is all engaged in harvesting in April and getting the land ready for June. In Yenamadurru drain, we had a contractor who tried to get labour and we offered them considerable bonus and so on, but without much effect. There are twenty estimates sanctioned or about to be sanctioned, more than enough to keep all the labour available in full work, and if some Honourable members who have local influence would help us in getting more labour, we may get on faster."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO:—"Your Excellency, the Hon'ble Mr. Howley's reply to this resolution is very satisfactory so far as it goes. The Honourable Member is intimately acquainted with the conditions of both the Gōdāvari and Kistna deltas, and I consider it a great satisfaction to us that he is in a position now to examine the whole subject as to the requirements of both these deltas from the point of view of drainage. Your Excellency, as has been pointed out, this is one of the subjects on which myself and my predecessors in office and my Honourable Friend Mr. Venkatapati Raju who represents the ryotwari landholders have felt very keenly and it is a satisfaction to us that the time has now come at least to make a programme, a comprehensive programme of all these works. The first difficulty that has been suggested is the question of funds. Your Excellency, we know that these are major productive works and any expenditure in the drainage of these two deltas will only have to come with the permission of the Government of India. We are quite aware of the fact. The Honourable Member stated that the expenditure on drainage can only be sanctioned as part of a productive scheme. I think I understood him aright."

The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. J. HOWLEY:—"I referred only to the two areas, the low swamps, some of them below sea level which have no real claim to expect that their drains would be productive."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—"The lands referred to by the Hon'ble Mr. Howley are lands forming a low swamp which have been brought under re-settlement operations and are exactly on the same footing as any other land in the delta for the purpose of assessment of land revenue. Therefore there is no ground at all for not improving the drainage condition of the deltas. Our contention has been for years that both the Kistna and the Gōdāvari deltas taken as a whole have been paying 17½ per cent on the capital outlay on irrigation schemes in these two deltas. That being so, any expenditure on the drains should not be calculated separately, but must be debited to the irrigation scheme and it can by no means be contended that when the Gōdāvari delta is paying 17½ per cent and the Kistna delta is paying similarly, any expenditure on drains can be regarded as anything but part of a productive scheme. Therefore, Your Excellency, I am not in agreement with the Hon'ble Mr. Howley if he intended to say that this expenditure of 65 lakhs or 25 lakhs or 35 lakhs would not be considered a legitimate expenditure debitable to the scheme, even assuming that a portion of it is to drain the swampy land which is assessed to land revenue. However, be that as it may, hereafter this major irrigation scheme, if the scheme of constitutional reforms becomes an accomplished fact, will become a Provincial subject. We shall probably have no more references to the Government of India for sanctioning estimates either for this or for any other purpose in this Presidency. So much on the subject of finance.

"I contend, Your Excellency, that any expenditure such as this is a perfectly legitimate charge and a very necessary charge, seeing that these two deltas are giving such handsome return on the capital outlay. Then going to a few other matters, I quite recognise that the rate of progress with reference to the execution of these large drainage works costing lakhs of rupees depends upon the labour that is available. It is no doubt true that at the time when these works have to be executed, there are demands upon the labour of the districts arising from agricultural conditions and the execution of routine works of the Public Works Department and the municipalities and local boards and so on. But I venture to bring to the notice of the Honourable Member, as he made the reference to the conference at Ootacamund with reference to the execution of tank restoration works, this fact that one of the complaints then brought forward at that conference—I was present at the time—both by administrative officers and the Public Works Department officers, was that there was no attempt made by the ryots to co-operate with the department in the execution of these works and ultimately the decision that was reached by that conference was that a revenue officer of the grade of at least a tahsildar should be specially employed to organize the necessary labour in the districts where these works are undertaken on a large scale. I venture to bring this fact to the notice of the Honourable Member with a view to adopt a similar procedure in the execution of these drainage works. I am certain that if a special officer is appointed to co-operate with the Public Works Department to organize labour and stimulate the ryots to come forward with assistance and generally to procure the necessary labour so far as it is available in the district or outside, it will be a step in the right direction. I would suggest that in the Kistna, Guntūr and Gōdāvari districts during the season during which these drainage works are undertaken a special officer should be appointed for about five months to organize labour for the department just two months before the work is started and place it at its disposal as far as possible. That is so far as the question of labour is concerned.

"Then there is the question of the investigation of these works and their execution. The Hon'ble Mr. Howley stated that he had estimates and figures for Gōdāvari for about 25 lakhs and about 35 lakhs for Kistna, but that they are not based on actual estimates; they are merely rough forecasts as to what is likely to be the expenditure on these works. So that we still have a good deal of work to be done before the estimates could be sanctioned and the necessary investigations made, even independently of the question of actual execution. The question arises whether this large extra work can now be performed by the existing public works divisions in these two deltas. I doubt it very much. My conversations with the Superintending Engineer and with several Executive Engineers in both these districts lead me to the conclusion that if we desire a speedy execution of these works, the investigation could not be undertaken by the existing ordinary staff of these divisions. I would suggest for his consideration the necessity of forming a separate division in each of these three districts for the investigation of these drainage works and the execution of these drainage works when estimate are sanctioned. I think that the time has come when drainage should be treated as apart from irrigation. I trust therefore, that the Honourable Member would not rest satisfied by merely publishing a list of works, but that he will follow it up by making specific proposals for the formation of separate divisions if necessary or for additional staff for the investigation of these schemes and the preparation of estimates.

"There is one other point which he made, and that is the question of land compensation. It is true that on account of the fact that every inch of ground has been occupied by cultivation, compensation for acquisition for drainage works is costly. It is not only for drainage works but for any works in the deltas, either village extension or for buildings, land is costly. But even assuming it is, it will pay the additional cost. The illustration that he has given of the unwillingness of the Government of India to sanction estimates on the score of the high cost of the land really illustrates the point. The ryots in these two deltas have been encouraged for years, actively encouraged by the officers of the Public Works Department as well as by the officers of the Revenue department, to bring the lands under cultivation and that was done from the point of view of revenue without sufficient consideration for the requirements of the village as regards

village extension, extension of village sites, and even regardless of the necessary drainage arrangements—let alone the sanitary drainage for these villages. I do not think, therefore, it is a consideration that ought to weigh with Your Excellency's Government that the cost of land will be heavy. It is heavy in every delta and that ought not to be a consideration for neglecting this important work. Your Excellency, it is a fact that year after year in both these deltas a certain amount of remission is given by the revenue department consequent mainly upon the defective drainage and the consequent flooding of irrigated fields. That would be a saving if these drainage arrangements are properly carried out.

"Having said all this, I only wish to make one or two inquiries in connexion with the figures which the Honourable Member has given. One is with reference to the Kistna, whether the figure that he has given includes the proposals in regard to the scheme for moderating the floods of the Tammalerru."

The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. J. HOWLEY:—"It does not include that."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO:—"I should also like to ask what possibility there is of the construction of a regulator for this Polraj canal. It has been under consideration for a long time. I think he mentioned it as part of the drainage scheme. If that is so, I have been asked several times by ryots of that part of the country to urge upon Your Excellency's Government the absolute necessity of the construction of that as early as possible, and in arranging for a programme I trust that the Honourable Member will regard it as an urgent work which ought to take precedence over others.

"Your Excellency, I am glad that this resolution has been accepted and finally I should like to suggest this: We may act in this matter on the suggestion of Your Excellency, with regard to the publication of our proceedings in connexion with the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar's proposal, that, if any particular matter required publication of the proceedings of this Council, Government may be prepared to consider such a request. Your Excellency, in this matter there has been considerable discontent in our districts for some time and I therefore propose that Your Excellency's Government should publish the debate on this resolution and also publish the forecast of the works likely to be undertaken in the District Gazettes of these two districts. It will show to the ryots that Government after all are alive to the requirements of these two deltas and that the matter has been brought to the notice of Your Excellency's Government and that the matter has reached the stage of active consideration. I make this suggestion so that wider publicity may be given to the request contained in this resolution."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"I will now put the resoulution unless the Honourable Member has any remarks to make."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU:—"Your Excellency, nothing more need be said with reference to this resolution except expressing our grateful thanks to the Government for the acceptance of this resolution. I may be permitted to make one remark, that the Government of India might not be so forward in providing the necessary funds. But I may mention in this connection that, whenever additional funds for the Provincial Government for useful subjects are broached in the Imperial Council, invariably the answer is that no Provincial Government pressed it either in the matter of sanitation or village improvement or any other thing. Therefore, I hope that so far as this is concerned, Government will leave no stone unturned for getting a grant from the Imperial Government, at least what is absolutely necessary for the improvement of the drainage condition. As the Government have been pleased to accept the resolution, I have nothing more to say."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"With regard to the request of the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao that this debate should be published, I am sure my Honourable Colleague in charge of the department will be prepared to consider whether the Hon'ble Mr. Howley's statement should be published in the District Gazette. Does the Honourable Member mean that it should be published in the vernacular?"

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO:—"Yes."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"As it is only one vernacular, Telugu, it is a comparatively easy matter."

The resolution was then put to the Council and agreed to.

RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF JIU-JITSU TEACHERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU:—"Your Excellency, the resolution which stands in my name, runs as follows:—

'XIX. This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that the Government be pleased to engage the services of Japan gymnastic teachers to train our school gymnastic teachers in Jiu-Jitsu for the purpose of training the student population as far as possible in the art of self-defence and to keep the body in good training.'

(Mr. Venkatapati Raju.) [5TH APRIL 1919.

"Your Excellency, this is a small matter but of national importance. I know that I have not only to convince the Government but to convince some of my non-official colleagues of the necessity and importance of this. When I wanted to move at the last meeting that grants-in-aid should be provided for this, and several other objects in connexion with physical culture, the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction was kind enough to point out that under the head of gymnastics, this can be done, and therefore I may take it for granted that wherever Jiu-Jitsu is taught, it will not be viewed with suspicion, but will be viewed by the Government with approval and some provision will be made as grant-in-aid for other gymnastic purposes. Your Excellency, I may mention that whatever be the advance in the matter of the spread of education in the country, there is no gainsaying the fact that so far as physical culture is concerned, it is deteriorating. The Hon'ble Mr. Ranga Achariyar is nodding his head in disapproval and probably he seems to think that there is much advance in physical culture. Whatever it may be in the places of which he has knowledge, I may say that in most schools and colleges that I know, physical culture is utterly neglected. We find only here and there some football matches, cricket matches, tennis or badminton matches. But we have invariably the process of drill, and curiously it has become such a bad piece of routine that a gymnastic instructor will take the hours from 11 to 5; he will take up one class between 11 and 12 a.m. and another class between 12 and 1 p.m., another between 1 and 2 another between 2 and 3 p.m. and so on, irrespective of the consideration whether this thing is to be done before meals or after meals, or at the beginning, or at the end, or in the morning or in the evening. Just as we read history or geography or mathematics, drilling goes on from hour to hour all through the day. That is the practice in most institutions. What I particularly want is that our boys should be trained to be manly and self-reliant. I do not think any Honourable non-official Member would oppose such a national ideal to be set before us. In order to have such an ideal, we must train our boys to be self-depending persons to attain to the fullest height of manhood which their system is possible to realize. There would be certain other difficulties if I were to suggest that in the physical culture that is to be given to our students, we must teach the art of self-defence.

"If therefore, we want to understand perfect physical culture adopted in any institution, I would invite the attention of Honourable Members to Japan where it is carried to perfection. There the boys are not only taught defensive measures but offensive measures, as fencing and shooting. For the present I am quite satisfied with Jiu-Jitsu. It is not only to keep the body in a good and energetic condition but the man will know his own value and he can defend himself without the aid of any lathis or any other thing. By the process of muscular training, he is able to withstand the attacks of even a bully. When a person understands that, he can defend himself, that itself is worth imparting. I may also mention this: I might be asked, why should you not be satisfied with the provision already existing, that in all institutions boys may be taught gymnastics and the Government are making provision that Jiu-Jitsu also may be taught there; and why should you want this additional thing at the hands of Government? Jiu-Jitsu was unknown in most countries till Japan stood foremost after the victory over China and since then everybody is acquainted with their methods of perfecting bodily training, and curiously England is one of the countries which adopted this system. The Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction might enlighten us on that point, but I am told in books that in England it was adopted. I need not go even to England; even in India some steps were taken to give such training to our soldiers and I do not see any difficulty in providing an institution where it is taught. If an institution were started to train students it is an advantage to have a central institution. Therefore I suggest that teachers in batches may be trained. Just as we are training sanitary inspectors in Madras to provide sanitary inspectors for various municipalites, we can train batches of teachers who in their turn, would teach the boys in the various schools. That would not take long and once we give the stamp of approval of Government, it will be easy. In India nothing will have acceptance in educational institutions unless it has the stamp of the approval of Government, because they solely rely upon Government aid in most cases. Under these circumstances, if the Government undertake to do it, then every school or institution which has not hitherto undertaken it, may attempt to do some such thing in this direction. Otherwise they might not know whether the particular inspector of schools of that division would approve of it or not. If once they know that it has the approval of Government, and if evidence is given by starting an institution, small or big, according to the available finances we can secure the training of several hundreds of teachers in the course of a number of years and that would be a very useful thing in this connexion. Unless we want our future generations to be weak and dependent upon others, which is always a demoralised condition, if we want them on the other hand to be manly, I think there is nothing wrong in the Government spending some amount in this direction. If there are other directions, they are all the more welcome. I suggest this, and if the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction wants to suggest some additional things, I will be quite glad. Some years back, bhana and pattah and other things were taught in schools and colleges. I know that sword-play was taught, but nowadays nothing is taught except drill in unusual hours. Therefore I do not think I need take up any more of Your Excellency's time. I hope the Government will see their way to encourage this sort of physical culture along with any other thing approved by the Government, so that our boys may be perfectly trained and prove good, reliable and efficient citizens of the future."

5TH APRIL 1919.] *(Mr. Ramaswami Ayyar; Mr. Littlehailes; Mr. Ranga Achariyar.)*

The Hon'ble Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—"Your Excellency, whilst I second this resolution, I should have preferred that it should have asked the Government to institute an inquiry regarding the feasibility of the training suggested in the resolution. I happen to have some knewledge of the system not only from personal inquiry but from demonstration. Whilst there is no question that the present system of gymnastics and drill as practised in most of our educational institutions serves very useful purposes and whilst I am not one of those who decry the value of what I may call communal exercises like football and cricket, which serve not only the purpose of individual bodily training but also help to stimulate the idea of comradeship and co-operation, I still feel that a great field is open for the purpose of training our students in the art of self-defence. I believe that self-respect and manliness demand that course, and under the circumstances under which our students are taught, having regard to certain peculiarities in our training and habits of thought, I think it would be a very good thing indeed if more self-reliance and desire to stand up when assaulted or rudely handled is developed in our young men. I would therefore welcome the system, but at the same time there is the alternative which may be suggested, and I think the Hon'ble Mr. Littlehailes will not blame me if I probably anticipate one of his arguments as I have had the advantage of an informal discussion with him on this matter. The national systems which were in vogue until Swedish drill and gymnastics took their place, had a very salutary effect, and those old systems of exercise have been rightly characterised as calculated to render our muscles supple and develop that habit of self-reliance which it is the object of the Honourable Mover to bring about. The system of Jiu-Jitsu is more spectacular. It is perhaps calculated to show off a little more than the indigenous systems of gymnastics. It has been said, I know,—in the course of the discussion it might be said—that for perfect success Jiu-Jitsu requires some amount of co-operation in the person who is thrown and the person who attempts to throw. It requires careful and anatomical knowledge of the muscular peculiarities of the human system, knowledge of the fact that if a certain muscle is pressed in the human system, the man would become unfit and would be thrown. It would be of great value to know it and I believe that has been recognized both in the English and the American police. A person who is not physically strong may by the aid of this system be in a position to resist the assault of a more powerfully-built adversary. From that point of view, it is of great educative value and probably of individual value also. Whether the time is ripe and whether it will be useful to inculcate that in a big school are matters which are open to investigation and on which opinions might differ. I would therefore, while seconding this resolution, invite the attention of the Government to the necessity and the feasibility of instituting an inquiry as to adopting this course in this country."

The Hon'ble Mr. R. LITTLEHAILES :—"Your Excellency, the policy that the Educational department has adopted is to allow school managers a free hand in prescribing any form of physical training that they please, any physical training that is suitable to the age and physique of the pupils. We do not enforce any particular system but we prefer the system that is adopted to be based upon indigenous exercises, but it should have drafted upon it such supplementary exercises and games as will produce sound health and general physical fitness without developing some parts of the body to the neglect of other parts, such supplementary exercises and games being adopted for use in this country from systems in vogue in other countries. To this end the department is now encouraging the compilation of a manual in games and physical training which will be a guide to school teachers and to managers of schools.

"The Honourable Mover of this proposition would propose that, out of the many systems of exercise adopted in different countries, this Government should give preferential treatment to the Jiu-Jitsu system. Regarding Jiu-Jitsu when two exponents of the art give an exhibition, it is most effective; but this is due, as the Honourable Seconder of the motion has already mentioned, largely to the fact that each anticipates the move of his opponent, permits him to get the hold agreed upon and gives the impression of extreme helplessness, but as an exercise it is distinctly inferior to wrestling which, known in Tamil countries as gusthi, has the further advantage of being indigenous. The difficulty of introducing it in schools is obvious, and places it in exactly the same category as boxing, fencing, wrestling and games of that kind, which however valuable they may be, are and must be considered individualistic and outside the pale of large-group activities which of necessity are the main, if not the sole activities that ought to be borne in mind when we enter into school training.

"So far as Jiu-Jitsu is required to supplement indigenous systems and so far as it might be considered by expert opinion as the best form of exercise for any particular muscular practice, its claim will no doubt be considered in the compilation of the manual. But it would be educationally unsound and the expense would be out of all proportion to the results attainable for the Government to engage Japanese gymnastic instructors to train school gymnastic tutors for the purpose of training the student population either in the art of self-defence or to keep the body in good training or for both purposes."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur T. RANGA ACHARIYAR :—"Your Excellency, both the Honourable Mover and the Honourable Member speaking for Government have apparently forgotten what happened in this Council in March 1915 when I brought a resolution that more provision should be made for providing for the appointment of instructors in physical training and for the efficient training of boys in schools and colleges throughout the Presidency. On that occasion

I pointed out that what was wanted was the training, and that we must have physical instructors, not the ordinary gymnastic instructors, but instructors who can give instruction in physical culture in the way that Mr. Hall is giving instruction in European schools and Mr. Noehren has been recently engaged in giving in Indian schools. On that occasion, the Hon'ble Mr. Stone and His Excellency the President speaking on the subject spoke most sympathetically about it and promised, as soon as financial conditions improved, that better provision would be made for training more people in giving instruction not in the ordinary gymnastics, but in the way in which it is done in European schools. I should have thought that if that project had fructified, we should have been most content indeed. I know Mr. Noehren is most earnestly engaged in this work in the city itself. He is often going out to the mufassal also to give instruction in gymnastics, and I believe he trained some people in the Teachers' College some time ago. I would like the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction to give us more information as to what progress is made in that direction, whether more people are trained by Mr. Noehren and Mr. Hall in giving this sort of instruction in physical culture which is in vogue in European schools. Speaking for myself, I may say that I am not taking that gloomy view which the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju is taking as to the physical appearance of our youths. I think there is a marked progress, comparing the boys of my days and the present day boys I am gratified to see that there is improvement both in physical appearance and in moral grit and also general manly trend. I notice certainly a remarkable growth and it compares very favourably with the days of my youth. His Excellency Lord Pentland told us at the last meeting that Government were viewing this movement with the greatest sympathy and to quote His Excellency's words at page 557 in the discussion in March 1917, His Excellency stated :—'I should like to say also—I may say that in this the Hon'ble Mr. Stone will agree—we are exceedingly satisfied with the work done under Mr. Hall and Mr. Noehren. It is making excellent progress and we believe that interest is being stimulated among Indian boys in this form of improvement, in individual improvement.' I am rather surprised that the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction now thinks that more importance should be attached to the indigenous systems. By all means, let us take the best of the indigenous systems, the best of the English systems, the best of the American systems, the best of the Japanese systems. But what we do want is that more attention should be paid to the scientific physical training of our boys. I am quite unacquainted with Jiu-Jitsu. I do not care which system is adopted. Let some system be adopted and encouragement given in the way in which His Excellency promised in that speech : 'I can give the Honourable Member the assurance that he asks, that we will not allow any consideration of money to stand in the way of the development of this kind of training.' Let these words be remembered by Your Excellency's Government and I ask Your Excellency's Government to come forward and train more people under Mr. Hall and Mr. Noehren so that the country will be flooded with such instructors and our youths may receive that training in physical instruction. I have come forward with this suggestion as I thought that this discussion may throw in the background the former discussion on my resolution to which I prominently draw the attention of the Council."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—"May I know if the subject matter which the Honourable Member is pressing is the same as what we now have before us ?"

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—"He has travelled far wider afield than the resolution. The subject matter of this resolution refers to jiu-jitsu. I think the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju might reply."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—"I wish to take this opportunity of making one observation. It appears to me that the main matter pressed in this resolution has not been faced by the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction. The Hon'ble Mr. Littlehailes came forward with a statement that the Government are going to place before the public a book containing forms of exercises which would be recommended for adoption in the various schools and they would be mostly indigenous. He said that they might also include a few items from other countries. It strikes me that that has nothing to do—the preparation of a book has nothing to do with the proposal now placed before this Council, which is whether we are to engage the services of Japanese gymnastic instructors to train some of our gymnastic teachers here. I do not think, whether a book is issued or not, the need for training a few teachers in the Japanese system would be done away with. I thought the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction might put forward some alternative system. As the best of the various systems has to be gleaned from various sources, just as we like some of our officers to go and study things in continental countries and find out what is best, I thought he would suggest that some of our gymnastic instructors should go to America, Japan and other countries and then come back and be able to teach what they find is best there. In the absence of such an alternative there does not appear to be any very serious obstacle in the way of the acceptance of this resolution. The resolution merely asks for the engaging of the services of Japanese gymnastic instructors ; it does not say whether it should be two dozens or twenty dozens and I do not know why the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction fancied that the cost would be prohibitive. For aught I know, the cost may be, Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 4,000 and there is nothing to suggest a prohibitive cost in this resolution. Perhaps one teacher in the training college might be sufficient. This is not a very deep mystery ; I suppose in the course of a few months an apt disciple will learn what there is to be taught and will impart it to others. It appears

5TH APRIL 1919.] *(Mr. Narasimha Ayyar; Mr. Siva Rao; Mr. Venkatapati Raju.)*

to me, therefore, that the objection put forward by the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction has not got much force. The only thing that struck me was that importance was specially attached to one particular species of wrestling. Wrestling is a well-known Indian art and there are numerous tricks in it. I, as a young man or rather as an young boy used to wrestle and dozens of tricks were taught to me. If my teacher could have given me that training in jiu-jitsu I could have picked it up. After all, it strikes me that jiu-jitsu is not so very complicated and it might not even require any very extensive arrangement to be made. I think we might get a teacher or two from Japan and full knowledge of it would be diffused throughout the country in a few years. The Japanese have a way of advertising their wares. They may term jiu-jitsu a special art, but even if it is treated as a special art, a few tricks may be systematised and made into a system and I think we might easily absorb all that is best in it by the appointment of a teacher or two, and no very prohibitive cost need be apprehended as a consequence of accepting this resolution. I hope Government will find it possible to accept this very small recommendation. I thought the subject was hardly worth serious opposition by Government and I thought Government would accept it at once. I did not anticipate serious opposition."

The Hon'ble Mr. P. SIVA RAO :—"Your Excellency, this is a very simple proposition before us. I do not know why there should have been so much misapprehension about it. The Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction thought that the Honourable Mover was seeking to impose this system upon all public schools. That was far from his intention. The Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction replied that the policy of the Government was not to impose any particular method of physical culture on schools in general but in each case to leave it to the option of the managers concerned. It is quite right. I do not think either myself or the Honourable Mover will quarrel with a statement of a policy like that. The Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction also stated that it would cost enormously. I do not at all see the prospect of any enormous cost or expenditure in this. All that the resolution asks for is that a particular mode of instruction should be provided for. Japanese instructors who knew this particular method might train mufassal gymnastic instructors. In other words, it comes to this: that provision should be made for this particular kind of physical culture also. It may be that if this resolution is accepted, it will only mean that one or two Japanese instructors should be employed to train others also in that system. It is a very harmless proposition and I do not see any difficulty in the way of the Honourable the Director of Public Instruction accepting it. We have got indigenous methods, we have got the English methods; we have got Danish drill and so many other methods and I do not see any reason why this particular mode of physical instruction also should not be provided for by Government while option is given to the managers of schools to follow any method that they like for enforcement in their particular institutions."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"Your Excellency, the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction has not done full justice to the importance of this resolution. We know that even in England the Government are particular in training their students, and in America they are careful in training their constables. Therefore jiu-jitsu is a thing worth learning, the art of self-defence without doing any damage to any person. The Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction has been kind enough to suggest: why do you go to foreign countries when you have your own indigenous systems? Nobody disputes it; I myself mentioned them. Formerly in the institutions that I know they were taught; fencing and other things according to old oriental methods were taught. If I were to ask for any special training for them, the Hon'ble Mr. Littlehailes will come and say, you have any number of men in your villages who know it and why do you ask Government to pay for it? This is a matter which is not ordinarily known to persons here. I am not particular with reference to the Japanese teacher. If we can secure one from America, or from England who is well acquainted with this, it does not matter in the least to me. What I want is that the man should know it first-hand and should teach it. We are not going to the subject whether we are getting any book on physical culture. After all it does not matter. There are several books already in existence about physical culture, good, bad, and indifferent, and we may get another book, but we do not think that the country would be improved by getting the books even from the Government publication department. We want to know what steps are taken and I do not think even in Government institutions, whether collegiate or secondary, there is any additional improvement in the matter of physical culture. When the Government with all their resources cannot undertake to train these people in fencing, rowing, swimming and other things, how can we expect the poor managers of institutions to provide for these? Therefore I appeal to this Government, so far as this is concerned; it is not at all compulsory. I never stated that it should be introduced as a compulsory subject, but what I stated is that this might be introduced so that the teachers might be aware of it and such boys as are willing to learn it might learn it. There may be unfit or unwilling boys. But when every other civilised Government thinks that it serves a good purpose in the art of self-defence and making a man manly, I do not see what difficulty there is for this Government making such a provision. Merely stating that they do not want to interfere with the discretion of managers of schools will not satisfy. There are cases where it is necessary that a good example should be set by the Government so that others might follow. I therefore earnestly appeal that the Government would reconsider the matter and would see some way of infusing more enthusiasm into the physical culture of our future generations."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" If the resolution had been framed with greater care by the Honourable Member it would have received quite a different answer. The resolution says :—

'This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that the Government be pleased to engage the services of Japan gymnastic teachers to train our school gymnastic teachers in jiu-jitsu for the purpose of training the student population as far as possible in the art of self-defence and to keep the body in good training.'

" If the words were to have any meaning it means there should be sufficient men for training the gymnastic teachers to train the student population of the Presidency and not that there should be one or two to train gymnastic instructors selected for the purpose.

" It is because of the way in which this resolution is framed that the Government have a difficulty in considering it. If it had merely asked that in the course of the development of gymnastic training, the claim of jiu-jitsu should be considered or due weight should be given to that branch of instruction, the Government would have given due weight to its consideration. But what the Government have to do is to read the wording of the resolution as it is. The implications in the resolution do commit the Government to a great deal more than is practicable. We could not undertake to engage gymnastic instructors for the purpose of training the student population as a whole, but as to the possibility of getting a certain amount of training in jiu-jitsu I think it is not only possible but it is being done. The Hon'ble Mr. Davidson reminds me that the Madras Police, some of them, have been trained in jiu-jitsu, and I suppose a Japanese instructor is giving it. If Mr. Noehren thinks that it would be useful, he will, I presume, carry it out. On the other hand, it will be a great mistake for this Council or for the Educational department to pin its faith to one system. It seems to me there has been much force in the speeches of the Honourable members that we have to teach individual pupils each by himself. You will have to teach each man the tricks and the manœuvres, how to use his hands, how to seize his adversary by the neck, and in fact it requires an enormous amount of teaching in order to produce good result. For its own purposes, it is an invaluable thing. I am sure that the Hon'ble the Director of Public Instruction and the Educational department will not lose sight of its advantages and we will draw the attention of Mr. Noehren in preparing his manual to this training in jiu-jitsu along with what he has in hand. The claims of jiu-jitsu will no doubt be considered. Beyond that, I do not think the Government can go. I do not know if the Honourable Member wishes to press the resolution to a division."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—" I do not wish to press it, but I am prepared to modify it so as to suit the Government."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" I think the Honourable Member can leave it as it is. He has drawn attention to the claims of this method and the Honourable the Director of Public Instruction will pay due attention to it."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—" I do not press it."

With the permission of His Excellency the President, the resolution was withdrawn.

RESOLUTION *RE* RESETTLEMENT OF THE VIZAGAPATAM DISTRICT.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—" Your Excellency, the resolution that I have the honour to move runs thus : the length of the resolution indicates the importance of it, because we have to deal with various points concerning the resettlement of the district of Vizagapatam. To give some idea I might be permitted to read the resolution. It runs thus :—

'XX. This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that the Government be pleased, in regard to the resettlement in Vizagapatam district,

(*a*) that instructions be issued to the Settlement Officer to conduct a thorough inquiry into the indebtedness of the ryots ;

(*b*) that the percentage enhancement proposed in the scheme report be given up, having regard to the impoverished condition of the people ;

(*c*) that the enhancement if at all should be limited to 12½ per cent on individual holdings ;

(*d*) that the uniform percentage enhancement of 3 annas in the rupee regarding all classes of dry lands be given up ;

(*e*) that the enhancement of assessment on poor pattadars be not imposed ;

(*f*) that all sources of irrigation in the district be grouped in five classes with reference to their supply and capacity instead of four ;

(*g*) that in the Sarvasiddhi taluk the irrigation sources classed as 2, 3 and 4 be classified as 3, 4 and 5;

(*h*) that the second crop assessment be made optional instead of being made compulsory ;

(*i*) that the assessment on dry lands close to the sea in Sarvasiddhi taluk admittedly high should be reduced; and

(*j*) that the irrigation sources of Kottisa, Talagam, Sivvam, Vangara and Mugguru in Palkonda taluk be classed as 2, 3 and 4 according to water-supply.'

"Your Excellency, I am perfectly well aware what should be the test in the matter of discussing these settlement resolutions. We have had experience of the discussions here with reference to several districts. I shall be quite content if I can convince the Government that their usual procedure of refusing to concede even the reasonable demands made by the representatives here should not be followed but a different treatment should be given to this resolution, because, unlike other districts. Vizagapatam has got peculiar features of its own. In extent and in population it stands the highest and we can even claim the credit of being the first district of the whole Empire, because it is bigger than some countries in Europe but we find that the Government own only three taluks covering about 300 square miles, all the rest being zamindari. All these three taluks together are less than any taluk in Trichinopoly or in any other place. Therefore though it has a big name of the settlement of a district, it is only a small matter and decision one way or the other will not tax the public purse to any great extent, or adherence to any particular view will not bring any large amount into the coffers of Government. During the discussions of the last three or four years, whenever this question arose, we have had the assurance from the Government that the economic condition of the people would be the first concern of the settlement officer and it would necessarily be gone into. At the same time, I must assure the Government that the people of the district feel very grateful to Mr. Gwynn who is a very conscientious officer, who is giving the people every possible opportunity and every facility to make their grievances heard."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—"The Honourable Member is dealing with a large proposition. There are several detailed points and I think if we hear what the Hon'ble Mr. Buckley has to say on the several delailed points, it will shorten the proceedings. If that will satisfy the Honourable Member, I will call upon the Hon'ble Mr. Buckley to deal with the several points."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"Yes."

The Hon'ble Mr. L. E. BUCKLEY :—"Your Excellency, the position as regards the re-settlement of Vizagapatam is this: the Settlement Officer has submitted a report and that report has gone on with the Board's recommendations to Government. The Government have not yet considered it. I am instructed to say that whatever arguments are put forward in this Council on this resolution, will be considered by the Government when passing orders on the scheme report. I had proposed to refer only to those points on which the Board supports the recommendations of the Settlement Officer and in consequence I am not prepared to go at great length into the many arguments and points raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju. I will go straight to item No. (*d*). 'The uniform percentage enhancement of As. 3 in the rupee regarding all classes of dry lands be given up.' I understand that what the Honourable Gentleman desires is that the course should be followed, which has been followed in North Arcot and the Periyar tract of Madura whereby the percentage increase should be lowered on the lower assessed lands than on the higher assessed lands. Is that what he means?"

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"I mean irrespective of the value it should not be increased."

The Hon'ble Mr. L. E. BUCKLEY :—"You say : 'the uniform enhancement of As. 3 in the rupee regarding all classes of dry land should be given up.' I take it that you mean that if there is to be a percentage increase, it should not be the same for all classes of lands."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"Yes."

The Hon'ble Mr. L. E. BUCKLEY :—"That is not proposed by the Settlement Officer, nor has it been recommended by the Board. The reason is that in the two districts in which percentage rate of increase was not uniform, no increase was put on the two lowest tarams and the increase rose as the value of land rose. It was found that the percentage of non-occupation in the three lower tarams is very small in Vizagapatam while the percentage of non-occupation in the three tarams in the other districts is high. In the lowest three tarams of Vizagapatam, the percentage of non-occupation is 7, 12 and 7 but in the other two districts they run from 27 to 74. That is the reason why the uniform rate was proposed—it is clear that in the lower tarams of land, assessments are not oppressive, for the greater part of the land is under occupation.

"I go on to the next point, point (*f*) 'All sources of irrigation in the district be grouped in five classes with reference to their supply and capacity instead of four.' At the settlement of Vizagapatam, four classes of irrigation sources were adopted. Mr. Gwynn has gone carefully over the country and has seen most of the irrigation sources, so also has Mr. Leach, and their

opinion is that these sources are fairly classified as between themselves. The fourth class in Vizagapatam corresponds to the fifth class in the other districts; the third class in Vizagapatam corresponds to the fourth class in other districts, the second class in Vizagapatam corresponds to the third class in other districts. The first class in Vizagapatam corresponds practically to what is the second class in other districts although there are one or two exceptional sources of irrigation which might be put in the first class of other districts.

"With regard to this point, I will go on to speak of item (*h*) which enables me to put my argument better—'The second crop assessment be made optional instead of being made compulsory.' I discussed this point both with Mr. Leach and with Mr. Gwynn and I made some inspection myself and after these discussions, Mr. Gwynn has made the recommendation that compulsory second crop assessment should be done away with; this has been very strongly supported by the Board. In making the second crop compulsory assessment, the rates at which additions to the assessment were made were one-third, one-fourth, one-fifth and one-sixth instead of one-half, one-third, one-fourth and one-fifth the rates adopted elsewhere. The concession was no doubt given because composition was compulsory. Mr. Gwynn has recommended that these rates should be continued, even though composition is to be made voluntary and the Board has supported this recommendation. That is to say, they will have composition at rates lower than those adopted in the other districts. They are practically in the same position as regards voluntary composition as they would be, if all the classes of lands were one class lower. The abolition of the second crop compulsory assessment means a considerable amount. It means the removal of a charge of 33⅓ per cent to 16⅔ per cent source of the first crop charge. In item (*g*) the Honourable Gentleman asks that the Sarvasiddhi irrigation sources should be classed as third, fourth and fifth. The Special Settlement Officer has drawn attention to the fact the some lands in the Sarvasiddhi taluk are over-assessed and the Board have recommended that where over-assessment is due to the class of source being placed too high, the Settlement Officer should be given the power to reduce the classification of the source.

"Then with regard to item (*i*) 'The assessment on dry lands close to the sea in Sarvasiddhi taluk, admittedly high, should be reduced', the Special Settlement Officer has referred to this; the Board has supported his recommendation, and emphasized what he has said. It is common knowledge that the assessment in a few villages is high.

"Then with regard to item (*j*), the Honourable Member asks that 'the irrigation sources of Kottisa, Talagam, Sivvam, Vangara and Mugguru in Palkonda taluk be classed as 2, 3 and 4 according to water-supply.' Although at the time of settlement the tank in the last named village was fed by the Sekarapalle channel, owing to various causes channel water no longer reaches the village, the Settlement Officer has accordingly proposed that it should be treated as a non-channel village and that the classification of the source should be made according to the actual water-supply; this has been supported by the Board. With regard to the four other villages, the Settlement Officer has proposed a revision of classification; this again has been supported by the Board. What I have said will clear the air considerably. It will be seen that very considerable concessions have been given to the district. The compulsory second crop rate has been done away with. This was the main grievance in the district. The Honourable Gentleman will understand that as the Government have not had time to consider the report, it is quite impossible that the resolution as it stands should be accepted, but I am instructed to say that whatever is said in this Council on the various points will be taken into consideration by the Government when the time comes for passing orders on the report of the Special Settlement Officer and the recommendations of the Board of Revenue thereon."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"I hope that will help the Honourable Member and he may make his observations."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU:—"Your Excellency, I am thankful to the Board of Revenue for strongly supporting the recommendations of the Settlement Officer that second crop assessment should be made optional instead of compulsory. If I were certain that the Government also would accept that view, I need not say anything, but I have to say something because it unfortunately happened on the previous occasion, when both the Settlement Officer and the Board of Revenue recommended strongly that this optional system should be adopted, Government vetoed it. I hope on this occasion the recommendation of the Settlement Officer and the Board of Revenue will be acted up to with reference to the second crop assessment being made optional. I may mention one or two facts; it is admitted so far as the Sarvasiddhi taluk is concerned, out of several thousand acres only a thousand and odd are being irrigated with second crop and others are never irrigated. So is it fair that they should be asked to pay second crop charges as well? If it were the case that on account of the negligence of the ryot or on account of any unseasonable conditions it was not raised, I can understand it. But here is a case of its being impossible for the ryot to raise it, because the water is insufficient even for one crop. When that is so, what is the meaning of compelling people to pay second crop assessment? That is also true with reference to other taluks. Therefore, not only the concession recommended by the Board of Revenue that it should not be made compulsory but should be made optional, should be adopted; but it must also be stated that when they want to take water for second crop, the usual compulsory rates of one-third and one-fourth should be adopted and not the higher rate of one-half and one-third. I hope Government would accept the strong recommendations of the Board of Revenue on that point.

" Regarding the other point, as to the necessity of grouping the several sources of irrigation into five classes instead of four, I notice with reference to the assessment charged it will make some difference, there will be some reduction of assessment if five classes are made. As the Hon'ble Mr. Buckley suggests that except to a slight extent, there would be no material difference, I do not press it. But I was all along under the impression that if it should be changed into five classes, there would be a reduction of assessment and this would give relief to certain classes of people.

" The other point is that the Board will be pleased to consider the recommendations of the Settlement Officer regarding the assessment of dry lands close to the sea in Sarvasiddhi taluk and also with reference to the question in Palkonda taluk about classification.

" Your Excellency, not as a matter of complaint but as a matter of serious difficulty I have to bring to the notice of Government that there is an indebtedness to such an exorbitant extent in the Vizagapatam district, and I might say more than 75 per cent of the pattadars are indebted. If we were to refer to the Triennial Registration report, though we have not got particulars about these three places, we shall know the great indebtedness of that district compared with the income of that district. It is not very difficult for the Settlement Officer or for the Government to find out the indebtedness if they care to take pains to do that; because apart from the indebtedness which can only be disclosed by private transactions, and which may be a difficult process to find out, so far as registered documents are concerned, they will show clearly how many pattadars are really indebted, and we can give a sufficient margin for additional indebtedness which does not go to the registration office.

" One other peculiar condition which Vizagapatam district suffers from is this: In Sarvasiddhi taluk it has been admitted by the Settlement Officer that remission is being granted to the extent of 23 per cent every year on the average and in some years it goes to the extent of 62 per cent. If we have got a taluk where the demand of the Government has to be reduced by a quarter almost every year it shows that there must be something wrong. I do not complain about the remissions, but I complain of the effect. What is the meaning of remissions? Remissions will be granted when the people satisfy the inspection officer that they have not got even an one-anna crop and if after such a careful scrutiny—more often it does not verge on the side of generosity—it is found that 23 per cent remission has to be given, we may take it that there is an utter failure of crop at least in the case of 50 per cent of lands. Government would be pleased to remember one fact that the ryots who suffer by failure of crops will not be satisfied by remissions alone. Remission only means that the amount which the pattadar has to pay to Government is excused and it is stated in more than one publication of Government, ' though we say that we do not take more than one-fifth of the gross revenue in the matter of assessment, as a matter of fact, our assessment will not exceed ten per cent. ' That is what the Government of India say. Assuming that it is either 10 per cent or more, what about the loss of 90 per cent to the pattadar? You are excusing the pattadar only 10 per cent of the gross revenue but he loses 90 per cent and if a person invariably loses to the extent of one-fourth of the full crop necessarily, he will be indebted and his economic condition will never be good. All Collectors who have had experience of the Vizagapatam district will convince the Government that whatever be the condition in other localities, the condition of the people of Vizagapatam is not very enviable. They are not rich; they have not amassed any capital. They have not got, most of them, any capital or any substantial buildings, and I may add that a large proportion of them cannot make both ends meet. That is the unfortunate condition.

" Unfortunately Government officers compare these pattadars with the pattadars of the neighbouring zamindars. I cannot say that the pattadars under the Government are in any way worse than those under the zamindar; in some cases they are better. I have noticed in the recent publication that we must compare the assessment of Government with the assessment which the zamindar imposes on his tenants. That is a very bad step, first of all because we ought not to compare State assessment either with the assessment by the zamindar or by landholder or any other person. In order to avoid such misconceptions and wrong deductions, the previous Secretary of State told us definitely long ago and communicated it to the India Government that they should impress upon every Indian civilian that he ought not to treat this assessment as in the nature of rent, but he must treat this as in the nature of a tax. Every subject of the State is bound to contribute to meet the common burden and therefore the landholder also is equally bound to do so. If we once give up that theory, if we say that it is not a tax but that it is a rent to Government just as to any other landholder, the position is different; such an indication is not wanting as was seen in the previous discussion, when the members on behalf of Government spoke about it and said that they were entitled to take what any other landholder takes, but that out of concession they were not taking so much though they were entitled to take it. First of all, we must get rid of such an idea. We must first of all show what is absolutely necessary that ought to be taken from the people. I may at once admit that if the Government are prepared to take what we call economic rent or competition rent, they could easily get more than 50 per cent. If all the pattadars are deprived of their lands to-day and their holdings are sold and given away to anybody just as any private landholder would do, it can be increased to 50 per cent, but then we would say that it is not the State but it is a private landholder. The State has other duties than what a private landholder has. The private landholder does not care to know whether his tenant has enough to eat; all that he wants to know is whether there is any other person who is prepared to pay more to cultivate his land. He seizes on every offer which is higher, but the Government say ' No, we will take into

consideration the economic condition of the people'. Why is this? It is because the Government want to show that it is not rent but it is only a tax which is imposed only for what is absolutely necessary.

"The first thing that a Settlement Officer ought to do is he must find out the indebtedness. Let alone the divergence of view, whether there should be a public or a private inquiry into the matter, there must be some inquiry to find out the indebtedness. I have perused the pages from one end to another of the report, but I do not find any such inquiry. The only stray reference, here and there, is that we have some sale-deeds picked up in order to find out the selling value of land and some lease-deeds also have been picked up. This is not what is wanted; we want to know the actual indebtedness of the peple. I am fully aware of the statement made at one time that it is impossible to find out the real indebtedness of the people. That may or may not be true, but we can easily find out what is the acknowledged registered indebtedness of the pattadars and that will indicate to some extent the real indebtedness. What is the necessity of a large number of pattadars being greatly indebted? It is not due to the mere fact that they are spending a large amount on festive occasions, on marriages and so on, but it is because they are unable to get on. If crops fail, they are unable to get anything and they have to go to the money-lender because more money is wanted to carry on their cultivation. Whatever be the attitude of our Kistna and Gōdāvari friends, it must be said to the discredit of Vizagapatam that Vizagapatam cannot provide sufficient sustenance for our people and so sends a large number to Gōdāvari and Kistna. All the labour in those two districts depends upon the people of Vizagapatam district who go to those two districts. If steps are taken to make arrangements to keep them in their own land, there would be more flourishing condition in these taluks than when we find a large number of emigrants who go to Gōdāvari and Kistna to do labour service. We cannot improve the whole of the district because much of it and indeed most of it is indeed not in the hands of Government. We are not concerned with the position of the tenants of zamindars, because that is not within our province. The Government have only a small portion of the district and their revenue is very small, it is only a few lakhs, less than 5 or 6 lakhs and any increase or decrease would not materially affect Government or their revenue. I earnestly appeal to Government that, whenever this question is viewed with reference to Vizagapatam district, the ordinary views of settlement operations discussed in this Council should not be adopted with regard to Vizagapatam district, on account of the large indebtedness and the constant failure of crops. Additional concessions should be given to the pattadars in this district.

"I may mention in this connexion that there was a percentage enhancement; though several pages of the report were devoted to various other matters, we notice that the aim and object of the settlement looks to be that we must arrive at some figure in order to increase the assessment and the question is what should be that increase. It is like giving judgment beforehand and afterwards filling up the blanks with arguments advanced on the one side or the other. Here they want some increase of assessment and the reasons follow. You decide to increase by As. 3 or As. 4 and then you find out reasons. Whereas in other districts cultivation expenses were valued up to Rs. 24, here it was limited only to Rs. 10. I do not know how there was such disparity in the matter of providing cultivation expenses. Therefore my respectful suggestion is that this percentage enhancement should not be allowed in regard to the re-settlement of this district and in case it should be adopted, I pray as an alternative that it should never exceed $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., that is, As. 2 instead of 18 per cent. In this connexion, I may point out that in Salem when it was re-settled, they increased it only by $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Even in Chingleput which is far better than our district, the increase was 15 per cent. Why of all districts this district which is in every way bad should be made to bear an increase of 18 per cent. I do not know."

The Hon'ble Mr. L. E. BUCKLEY:—"May I give an explanation? The $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was fixed before the rise in prices. But Vizagapatam comes in now after 14 years of high prices and naturally the commutation rate is high."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU:—"Your Excellency, it is most unfortunate that there should be the re-settlement of my district after the war. In the war during the last three years, there was an abnormal rise in prices. Just as there are famine years, these are ultra famine years, because in famine years, the scarcity rates were 8 seers but now they are $3\frac{1}{4}$ seers a rupee. Therefore if we have to deduct famine years from our computation we must deduct these ultra famine years. But what I want to state is that unless and until the Government are satisfied that the pattadars are in a position to bear the high assessment, they should not raise the assessment. I am not concerned with the rich pattadars, but it is with reference to the poor pattadars, most of whom do not pay more than Rs. 10 assessment and have not got more than two or three acres, that I am complaining. I earnestly invite your Excellency's attention that any additional burden thrown upon these pattadars would be only benefiting the Gōdāvari and Kistna districts at the expense of Vizagapatam. It will necessitate the emigration of these people, if not to Rangoon, at least to the neighbouring places to help themselves because they cannot help themselves in their own districts. Therefore, I purposely added another clause with reference to this: that the enhancement of assessment on poor pattadars be not imposed. I have left it as elastic as possible, I wanted to limit it to pattadars whose whole assessment would not exceed Rs. 30. But I found most pattadars would come under that and in order to give additional scope and to reduce the chance of loss of revenue to the

Government, I suggest that it might be pattadars whose assessment is not over Rs. 10 or who have only one or two acres of land. It was once suggested in the previous discussion, why should you make any distinction between one pattadar and another? Why not provide equally for all? That, I submit, Your Excellency, is a business-like point of view. But what I say is that it is not at all state-craft. State-craft requires that you must impose the burden upon those shoulders which can afford to bear it, and you must not impose the same burden on shoulders which are unable to bear it. These poor pattadars cannot bear it; it is quite impossible for them to bear it, because they are poor, they have got only two or three acres and they have not enough left with them. On paper we may calculate the several points; we might calculate that the man raises so much of which so much goes for expenses and so much remains and all that. But when he has a family of five members and has only two or three acres what is there left for sustenance. Therefore, this is an aspect which the Government should remember whenever any re-settlement is made which has the effect of imposing additional assessment. Government say that in spite of this, there has been an increase in value. Certainly; that also shows that the pattadars are unable to keep the property in their own hands. They are indebted to a very great extent and the persons to whom they owe this money want to take the land for what it is worth and they leave the district bag and baggage selling the property for what it can fetch. If he is a big landholder or a rich mirasidar who purchases that land, he will be satisfied with a small percentage of interest on his money invested and he would rack-rent it and get whatever money he can get. A rich man who has enough wealth can pay a fancy price. That does not mean that the original holder is able to bear the additional assessment. That is the point of view which the Government should consider—whether the pattadars could bear the excessive assessment. Therefore the imposition of excessive assessment on the sole ground of the increase in prices should be limited to pattadars whose assessment is not less than Rs. 10. That would relieve the situation to a great extent.

"As there might be several speakers on this resolution, I do not propose to keep you long, but whatever may be the final orders of the Government, I pray that the condition of the poor pattadars should be remembered and some means should be devised in order to save them from any additional burden, and secondly that no person should be made to pay for a crop which it is not possible for him at any time of the year to raise, and thirdly that assessment should not be increased to a very high extent as proposed, by $18\frac{1}{3}$ per cent by the Settlement officer and it should not exceed on any account $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. With these words, I commend the resolution to the acceptance of the Government."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"Your Excellency, as belonging to the Vizagapatam district, it is with great pain that I am obliged to support the resolution pain because my district is so poor that I have to plead before the Government that concession should be shown to my district. The Sarvasiddhi and Yellamanchilli taluks are really at the fag end of the river and they receive very little water and the water that flows is practically intercepted by the Gummalu proprietor and the Government taluks receive very little supply; in the Palkonda taluk the big landholder, the Maharaja of Bobbili with his other sub-landholders take away most of the water and the Government taluks do not receive so much supply. It is these three taluks that are now sought to be resettled. I believe that the Sarvasiddhi and Yelamanchilli taluk people submitted a memorial to the Government last year praying that the settlement of their taluks might be postponed altogether or might not be taken up at all. I sent in a resolution last year that there should be no settlement of these taluks now, but I was easily silenced with the answer that this is only a question which can be taken up by the Imperial Government. When I brought forward that resolution it was not meant that the question should be altogether shut out but only that it should be favourably considered. However, the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju while conceding that there might be re-settlement, has brought out several defects that are noticeable in the present settlement. With regard to the state of these taluks, Sarvasiddhi and Narasapatam, the present position with regard to food grains, I think, is clear and these two taluks are in a hopelessly poor condition. They are receiving their supply of paddy from Gōdāvari and other districts. These two taluks produce no paddy whatever practically and they are unable to supply themselves. With regard to any paddy that is produced, it has been stated by the Hon'ble Mr. Buckley that prices have risen and therefore that enhancement was proposed. But when the prices are taken into consideration, I have no doubt Government will also be pleased to consider the cost of production. I have no doubt that the cost of production has also proportionately increased and therefore one factor ought not to be taken into consideration without considering the other factor. With regard to the poverty of these two taluks especially, we can see that several of these pattadars have practically abandoned their holdings, or even if they nominally retain them, most of the other members of the family are going out to the other districts, Gōdāvari and Kistna to eke out their livelihood there and if we only take into account the several passengers that go by steamer on every Saturday to Rangoon and other places—I have witnessed it on many occasions—Your Excellency will notice that these people who go out by steamer are thousands every week. That speaks of the poverty of the pattadars in these two taluks and the persons who go to Rangoon are mostly from these two taluks—I would include Anakapalle also, the taluk of the Maharani of Wadhwan. When that is the poor condition of these three taluks, I appeal to Your Excellency whether it would be proper to take up re-settlement now very seriously and to impose very heavy enhancement on their holdings. If at all any enhancement has to be made nominally, I think it should be a very small amount, but I do not think that

these holdings can bear any further enhancement. The Palkonda taluk is a little better than these two taluks, but as I have already mentioned, that taluk also is in a very poor condition and even that taluk has not been able to produce very much of paddy this year. It is a sure and certain indication that the water-supply to that taluk is very poor, so that the condition of the district of Vizagapatam is very pitiable. Hereafter these pattadars will have to eke out their livelihood as coolies when the hot season commences and probably some of these contractors would find it very easy to find cheap labour in Vizagapatam district because pattadars do not find cultivation very encouraging or at all paying. I am surprised to find that the businessmen, who speak for the masses and who profess to take interest and who are supposed to take interest in the masses, do not appear here when we speak of these pattadars. I only mention it, because after all it is only the much maligned lawyer perhaps that comes in for the help of the pattadars. However, that is a different point. I hope Your Excellency's Government will view this resolution favourably and see what can be done for these pattadars in these taluks."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. KRISHNA RAO :—"Your Excellency, I wish to make a few remarks on clauses (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*e*) of this resolution. I must say at the outset that the statement made by the Hon'ble Mr. Buckley is encouraging and assuring so far as it goes, and that if the Board of Revenue have not been able to be more liberal in their recommendations, the Board of Revenue cannot be blamed in view of the attitude of the Government in dealing with questions of this sort in the last five or six years. The main question to be considered while dealing with a problem of this character is about the taxable capacity of the land and the taxable capacity of the people concerned. It is by a correct appreciation and a proper adjustment of these two fundamental principles, that one can arrive at a satisfactory state of things. The report of the settlement officer and the tables and statements furnished by him in his report would suggest that some inquiry has been made as to some facts affecting the capacity of the land; but I have not the slightest doubt that proper inquiry has not been made as to the taxable capacity of the people and as to the economic condition of the ryots affected in these tracts. I shall now briefly refer to a few facts tending to substantiate my position. The discussions in this Council during the last five or six years while we have been considering the re-settlement of North Arcot, Chittoor, Madura, South Arcot, Bellary—and now we come Vizagapatam—must have convinced the Council, of the utmost importance and the paramount necessity for making a thorough and searching inquiry into the economic condition of the ryots affected. What is the inquiry which is made so far as these three taluks in Vizagapatam are concerned? It cannot be suggested that an economic inquiry is complete or satisfactory unless there is an inquiry into the agricultural indebtedness of the ryots. From the materials which are before me, I have not been able to lay my hand on any inquiry, much less a satisfactory inquiry, as to the indebtedness of agriculturists. It is not merely the statistics furnished by the registration department and the amount of mortgages and other transactions entered into by the ryots which will afford a criterion as to the indebtedness of the ryot, but more searching inquiry is necessary in individual villages or in typical villages as to the amount of loans taken on promissory notes or other negotiable instruments. It will be remembered that debts are contracted to a very large extent in this country not on mortgages but on promissory notes; and unless satisfactory inquiry is made, it will not be possible to come to a correct understanding as to the economic condition of the ryots affected.

"One of the circumstances taken into consideration apart from commutation of rates and apart from the increase of prices, regarding which I do not propose to make any special remarks, is about the increase in the sale value of lands. Even the information furnished in the report of the settlement officer in paragraph 39 shows that it is a very risky ground for us to proceed upon. He himself refers to these figures in paragraph 39 and proceeds to state as follows :—

'Thus the prices and rents shown in these appendices are considerably below the prices and rents actually received to-day. It must also be remembered that even to this day the competition for land is by no means so keen and universal as in the more developed southern districts. In a few prosperous villages, prices and rents appear to have been driven up by competition so high as to show the full value of the land. But one sometimes finds a sharp difference between the sale and lease value of similar lands even in two adjacent villages grouped under the charge of the same karnam. The karnam or the ryots, when questioned, will explain the difference by the absence of competition in the village where the sale and leasing values are lower. Where competition is keen, the purchaser of the non-cultivating castes is content with an immediate return of 6 per cent on his land, while a sub-tenant who takes the land on lease, hopes for nothing more than a bare livelihood. But in some villages a buyer of the cultivating castes expects so good a return on his money that he is willing to borrow at 9 per cent or 12 per cent to make the purchase, while the sub-tenant in some villages succeeds in laying by substantial savings after paying his rent.'

"He refers to his having met two ryots who said that they made substantial profit. It is therefore clear that so far as that district is concerned, there is no competition and prices are much lower than in the other districts, and that even in the case of two adjoining villages, different versions were given as to the sale value. It is risky and dangerous to come to the conclusion from this circumstance that they are fairly prosperous and that there has been substantial improvement in the position of the ryot to justify the enhancement of the assessment proposed. I find in paragraph 41 of the report 'after making allowance for these things, the position of the ryot has greatly improved since the last settlement.' I do not say that there has not been

any improvement, but the question is whether there has been such great improvement as to justify the enhancement which has been suggested. Therefore, I would suggest that, as suggested in clause (*a*) of this resolution, there should be a thorough enquiry into the indebtedness of the ryots. That is the first portion of the resolution. I have not the slightest doubt that there has not been such an inquiry.

"The next point is, the percentage enhancement proposed in the scheme report be given up having regard to the impoverished condition of the people. The Honourable Mover of the resolution referred us to some figures furnished by the registration department showing the indebtedness of the ryots as amounting to a very large sum, and if along with that we take the fact that large sums of money are borrowed otherwise than on mortgages found in the registration department, there is no doubt that he has made out a case for his position.

"Clause (*c*) is more important. It suggests a definite principle that the enhancement if at all should be limited to 12½ per cent on individual holdings. I do not know, Your Excellency, if I can on this occasion convince successfully this Council and this Government as to the desirability of fixing a maximum limit for this percentage enhancement which is coming up before the Government as often as possible at every periodical revision of assessment. It would be more convenient and satisfactory if a limit could be fixed as to the maximum to be imposed. I know on a former occasion, notice was given of a resolution suggesting that 12½ per cent should be fixed as a maximum ; but it was not allowed to be brought up in the Council on the ground that it was a matter for the Government of India. In the Madras Estates Land Act, after considering the condition of the ryots and providing for periodical enhancement of the rates on the ground of rise in prices and other circumstances, a maximum has been fixed at annas 2 in the rupee. I would suggest that the maximum fixed in sub-clause (*c*) places it on the same footing. Before I leave this portion of the subject, I do not wish to take the same gloomy view as the Honourable Mover when he referred to the possible comparison with private landholders. I do not think that we should draw a distinction. I believe they are as anxious to safeguard the interests of the tenants and ryots as the Government are to safeguard the interests of the ryotwari landholders.

"Next, I wish to point out that there is considerable force in the argument advanced that the enhancement should not be enforced in the case of the poor pattadars. That is a direct application of the principle that it is only when we are satisfied about the taxable capacity of the people, there should be enhancement. It is only in the case of those owning sufficient property that there will be a sufficient margin left after meeting all the necessaries of life for them to pay these increased assessments. But it is impossible to suppose for a moment that persons who own very small plots of land will be able to save anything to make provision for increased assessment. It is for that reason that the Honourable Mover suggested that enhancement should not be imposed on poor pattadars.

"Regarding the other points raised in the resolution, the Hon'ble Mr. Buckley gave a reply in the beginning and stated that the Board of Revenue supported the recommendations of the Settlement Officer ; and let us hope and trust that the Government also would arrive at a satisfactory conclusion and satisfy all the parties concerned. What is more important is that before percentage enhancement is determined upon, Government should be satisfied that there has been a proper inquiry into the economic condition of the people and into their capacity to bear the increase of assessment. The materials before us do not justify us in coming to that conclusion."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—"I do not know whether any other Honourable Member wishes to address the council. The position of the Government is that the Board's report has reached the Secretariat, and Government have not considered the point and they are not in a position to give any definite finding on the points, but the speeches that have been made will be considered when the papers come before the Government and all possible attention will be paid to those points which have been raised in the resolution, and in the speeches of the Honourable Members. I do not think it will be possible for the Government to go further, and not having myself seen the Board's report, I am quite unable to go into details. It would be impossible for me to answer the Honourable Members' arguments until I have gone into details. The settlement report is a complicated document as Honourable Members know and it is full of a mass of detail and cannot be dealt with in a week or two. It takes a long time, several months. We may well assure the Honourable Mover that what he has said and what others have said on the subject will be considered very carefully, and I will advise the Honourable Member to leave it at that stage unless he wishes to press it to a division."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur T. RANGA ACHARIYAR :—"Your Excellency, Your Excellency's Government accepted my resolution that the principles and measures adopted by Mr. Grey in the settlement of The Nilgiris should be communicated to all settlement officers engaged in re-settlement work and Your Excellency's Government issued a circular inviting the attention of all settlement officers to that procedure. From the statement made just now, there has been no inquiry into the indebtedness of the ryot. If this is true, it would be violating that Government Order and Your Excellency's Government should investigate that matter.

"I would also like Your Excellency to consider whether Your Excellency's Government would take these war years into account in fixing commutation prices, whether it would be wise to do so.

"The third circumstance to which I would like to draw Your Excellency's attention is, if there is a large class of poor pattadars in these taluks as mentioned by my honourable friends, then whether Your Excellency's Government will not be acting, having regard to the crisis in this country, in conformity with the principles adopted already in regard to other districts, namely, to continue the existing settlement for a further period till normal conditions are restored. I wish Your Excellency's Government would keep these matters in view in dealing with this question."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur V. K. RAMANUJA ACHARIYAR :—"Your Excellency, the information furnished by the Hon'ble Mr. Buckley with regard to items (*f*), (*g*), (*h*) and (*j*) is very satisfactory. But the main point is what should be the rate at which the present assessments should be enhanced. The settlement officer says it should be As. 3 in the rupee, and the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju says there should be no enhancement, and even if there should be one, it should not be above As. 2. Your Excellency, I glanced through the pages of the report and I find that the enhancement proposed is not justified. There has been a large rise in the prices of food-grains, but at the same time the cost of cultivation should be calculated afresh on the present prices of labour and materials ; and no attempt whatever has been made to do this. The system of enhancement, the obnoxious system of enhancement of assessment adopted in the Madura settlement, is followed here and not one word of apology for dispensing with the calculation of cultivation expenses has been given. The rate is fixed in a wholly arbitrary way at the whims of the settlement officer and is accepted or altered by the Board and the Government. The mass of figures quoted serves no purpose whatever, because they do not explain how this rate of As. 3 has been arrived at. They serve only to cover the arbitrary nature of the enhancement proposed. The Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju therefore throws himself upon the mercy of the Government and pleads for not more than 12½ per cent. I think the present system of raising the enhancement at resettlements should be completely abandoned. Government have got large powers given to them by Act II of 1864, and if they use the power arbitrarily as they are doing now, the consequence will be on their shoulders. They will not see the effect at once, but in course of time when districts are impoverished, they will see the result of the policy of having high rates."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—"Your Excellency, the discussion of settlement schemes in this Council has ranged principally round two or three questions. The point for consideration is, since these discussions have been initiated in this Council, whether any different policy has been pursued in regard to the questions on which the previous settlement schemes have been attacked in this Council. Your Excellency, one of these is as regards the question of indebtedness of the ryots. It was contended here, in regard to the schemes which came up for consideration relating to North Arcot, Chittoor and other places, that it was part of the duty of the settlement officer to make thorough inquiries on the subject of indebtedness and that unless inquiries were made on that subject, Government would not be in a position to see whether the ryot could bear the enhancement that was proposed by the settlement officer. So that the whole question of the economic condition of the ryot is dependent upon the ascertaining by actual inquiries as to what the assets are and what the general liabilities are, and whether he would be in a position to tide over bad seasons that may occur. Your Excellency, I need not cover the whole ground which has been exhaustively dealt with on previous occasions. On the present occasion also, the settlement officer's report does not show that he made any inquiries at all on this question of the indebtedness of the ryots in these three taluks. There is absolutely nothing in this report to show that he made inquiries or that he examined the figures of the registration office or that he called any individual pattadars and ascertained their economic-well-being or that in any other manner he ascertained to what extent people are indebted and how far this percentage enhancement will trench upon the necessaries of life and whether there is any substantial rise in the standard of comfort of the ryots. That is the main question that is debated in this Council so often and I regret to say that this report is as defective as other previous reports, because there is absolutely no information with reference to these three taluks as to the state of things of the ryots. As to how such inquiry should be conducted, formed the subject of numerous resolutions. At one time several of my honourable friends proposed that it should be directed to the whole tract; then I believe the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar suggested that it should be in the case of individual families and I believe the Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao wanted that it should be for typical villages. Especially looking at the fact that orders on this report will not be passed for some months as stated by Your Excellency because it requires investigation, I suggest that further inquiries be made on this important subject—the question of the indebtedness of the ryots. I have dealt on previous occasions with the inquiry made in Bengal with reference to a whole district. Honourable Members are aware of the publication by a member of the Indian Civil Service, showing the position in the district of Faridpur and I would recall that it is possible to do something of the same nature in regard to these three taluks. That is one important matter in which I would press for further information and further inquiry by the settlement officer.

"Another point on which I would like to say a few words is the general question as to whether, judging from what the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju has referred to, judging from the emigration figures, the district can be said to be in a prosperous condition. I acknowledge, representing three neighbouring districts of Vizagapatam, that these districts are considerably

5TH APRIL 1919.] *(Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao; Mr. Venkatapati Raju; the President.)*

benefited by the stream of immigration from Vizagapatam which began since the great famine of 1877. Since then, thousands of families have been coming in as agricultural labourers and settling down in these three districts much to the benefit of our districts and have been supplying greatly the agricultural needs of these three districts. I ask Your Excellency's Government, though we had benefited considerably in that matter, whether it is a healthy sign of the state of things in Vizagapatam. I know the district fairly well though not as intimately as my honourable friends, but I have absolutely no doubt that the district is absolutely poor and the people will take the earliest opportunity of clearing out to Gōdāvari or Kistna or Guntūr and earn a living either as agricultural labourers or setting up in course of time as small farmers. That is very much to their credit and their thrifty habits have made them very dear to the agriculturists of our district. While we have considerably benefited by this immigration, I cannot but assert with the greatest emphasis that I can that the state of things in that district is anything but satisfactory. The settlement officer ought to have looked at the question of emigration as having a bearing on the general condition of the district. That is the second defect which I may mention in regard to this report. We have mentioned this on previous occasions time after time, but settlement officers are pursuing exactly the same course and following exactly the same mechanical way of looking at this question. I think the time spent in criticising the report is absolutely useless. The time has come when Your Excellency's Government ought to make up your mind to issue supplementary instructions with regard to these matters on which we feel keenly and see that the economic condition of the tract which is proposed to be resettled is examined in these important matters.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Buckley referring finally to this question referred to the voluntary character of the composition for the second crop and he suggested that that concession would greatly benefit this district. Your Excellency, I am not quite prepared to say with the information published in this report, that it will be a real concession. Some figures are given as suggesting that the amount collected now as second crop assessment is Rs. 74,553 and the amount estimated to be collected on the voluntary basis of compounding the second crop is Rs. 56,000, a difference of about Rs. 16,000 or Rs. 18,000. I am not sure whether this is a substantial improvement in the position of these three taluks and I should like to see that this matter is further examined. It is quite possible that this figure of Rs. 56,000 stated by the Hon'ble Mr. Buckley is not a correct estimate, or is rather too hopeful a view of the situation. I do not see how the difference matters in this matter."

"I may finally bring to the notice of Honourable Members what the financial proposals are, how, taking the figures as a whole for these three districts, the ryots are affected. The present assessment is estimated at 4 lakhs and odd and the proposed assessment is Rs. 5,20,242. That seems to be the net result of these proposals and in view of these circumstances and the poverty of the tract and the infertile character of the lands as compared with other districts, I think there are very weighty considerations as to why a more favourable view should be taken."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU:—"In view of the expressions of the Government and the assurance that the various points urged upon the attention of the Government would be carefully gone into and as no orders are issued by the Government, I think I will be doing good to my district men by accepting the suggestion of Your Excellency not to press the point any further at this stage."

With the permission of His Excellency the President, the resolution was withdrawn.

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"Resolution No. XXI * is not to be moved. No. XXII may be moved. We shall adjourn for lunch."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO:—"I do not propose to move No. XXIII." †

The Council then adjourned for a short interval.

The Council reassembled at 3 p.m. when the discussion on resolutions was resumed.

RESOLUTION *RE* ESTABLISHMENT OF A BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO:—"Your Excellency, this resolution is in these terms:—

'XXII. This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that a Board of Agriculture be established for this province.'

"Your Excellency, perhaps Honourable Members are aware that in or about September 1918 the Government of India issued a circular to Local Governments which in terms suggested for the consideration of Local Governments the advisability of the establishment of a Provincial Board of Agriculture in each province. The proceedings of the last meeting of the Board of Agriculture for India, the All-India Board, came up then under the consideration of the Government of India and their views were communicated to Local Governments. The Government of India

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* The Hon'ble Mr. K. SADASIVA BHAT:—

XXI. This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that necessary legislation should be undertaken to enable a tenant in the South Kanara district to set off payments by him towards assessment on the holding against rent due from him in all cases.

† Vide page 982 infra.

then stated that the time has come when it is desirable that there should be some devolution and decentralization of the deliberations of the Agricultural Department. As regards the number and range of subjects dealt with in this department, they suggested that it might be desirable that in the major provinces at least a Provincial Board of Agriculture should be constituted which will meet annually and in which subjects of local interest will be discussed. 'On the research side', they proceed to state 'the sectional meetings of the Board of Agriculture, referred to in paragraph 5 of the circular of the 31st August 1918, will meet the case to some extent'. But they point out that there are many purely agricultural questions which are of essentially local importance arising in the province which would more successfully be dealt with by a Provincial Board and the Government of India invited Local Governments to consider the advisability of constituting such Provincial Boards in each province. One of the main reasons which they suggested for the formation of this Board was that the scope of these meetings might with advantage be extended and they suggested that non-official co-operation in agricultural matters would be valuable and they pointed out that to the Boards so constituted large landholders, representative agriculturists and others interested in the rural development should be invited. Your Excellency, the object of such a Board is not only to develop agricultural research and organize agricultural experiments in the districts but also to enlist the co-operation of those who are interested in scientific agriculture. Then the Government of India suggested that the questions relating to the provinces might be settled in these Provincial Boards and questions of more general importance might be settled by the All-India Board of Agriculture. The circular proceeded in terms to say that the Provincial Governments accepted this suggestion that the Agricultural Advisor to the Government of India might be occasionally asked to be present at these Provincial Boards so that they might have the benefit of his wider experience in the development of agriculture. I understand from the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar that this matter was considered after the circular, during the last two or three months, and he has courteously placed at my disposal the views of the Director of Agriculture on which the Government came to the conclusion that for this province no Board of Agriculture was necessary. Honourable Members will see that the Government considered this circular of the Government of India issued in September and came to the conclusion on the 14th of December 1918, that 'in the circumstances reported by the Director of Agriculture, the Government agree that it is unnecessary to constitute a provincial Board of Agriculture in this Presidency and accept the Director's suggestions in paragraphs 6 and 7 of his letter read above'.

"I contest by this resolution the soundness of such a decision. I contend that the main object or one of the main objects of a Provincial Board of Agriculture—and I consider this to be the most essential feature—is to interest the agriculturists and the large land-owners in the scientific methods of agriculture and if any organization of that kind is constituted in this Presidency, it will be of the utmost advantage to the people of this Presidency. Honourable Members would remember that some years ago agricultural associations were formed throughout the province, but for some reason or other they have disappeared and the literature on the subject amounts to several volumes in the Board office or in the Government Secretariat. It was suggested at the time that it was an unnatural forcing of the interest of the public, that the public never evinced any interest in these agricultural associations, that they were mainly composed of persons who did not themselves carry on agriculture as a profession and various other circumstances of that kind were mentioned. I remember the question was more than once discussed when Mr. Hutton was Director of Agriculture. I was myself interested in one of these agricultural associations and it is hardly necessary to recall the failure of that movement at the time. But, Your Excellency, the whole question of agricultural development has received a further impetus from the Government of India and the wider organization of agriculture and the scope of agricultural associations have been so much developed that I think it would be a great mistake not to bring into existence an organization which would secure the active co-operation of the landed classes in this Presidency on some footing such as that suggested in this resolution of the Government of India. I have been careful to look at it from the standpoint of Mr. Stuart who says that he consulted all members of the Imperial Agricultural Service in the Province and discussed the matter with the staff at Coimbatore at a general meeting and at a special meeting; and the general conclusion to which he came was that there was no necessity for the formation of formal Provincial Board of Agriculture. He says that it will entail no small dislocation of the work of the officers concerned and the result will certainly be incommensurate with the time occupied. It is a proverb that 'one cannot expect a plant to flourish if one pulls it up by the roots too frequently in order to see how it is growing.' Your Excellency, I do not think that this conclusion of the Director of Agriculture could be supported. The main standpoint of the Government of India in the constitution of these Provincial Boards was to invite the co-operation and to secure the active support to modern agricultural methods of the landed classes; and that aspect has not at all been dealt with by Mr. Stuart. Of course the average official would have little to do with district boards and municipalities and taluk boards if he can help it, or with any form of association, with any other non-official organization such as this. The general average view is that it is an impediment and that it is far better not to have anything to do with it. 'Let us have our own way. We can do much better than any number of boards or advisers.' That is the point of view with which I have been very frequently familiar. Whatever may be the proposal, our standpoint is co-operation, active co-operation of the leading landed classes with the officials of the Agricultural Department. The officials of the Agricultural Department think that they can do very much better without the co-operation of the people and the landed classes. I am not at all prepared to accept that view. It will be the same, I expect, in any

department. Therefore, this view that the officers of the Imperial Agricultural Service are against it is essentially unsound. In paragraph 4, Mr. Stuart says: 'At present, an informal agricultural conference is held every year at Coimbatore under the auspices of the Madras Agricultural Students' Union at the time of the College day.' I think college days are always matters of merry-making and so on—felicitous speeches at the beginning and at the end, plenty of sports and a good deal to roam about and so on. But whether this co-operation which the Government of India had in contemplation when they said that they should secure the co-operation of the landed classes would be secured, I do not know; I do not know whether Mr. Stuart was of the same opinion. He continues: 'To this conference the official visitors of the Agricultural College are invited and also other large landowners and persons interested in agriculture. Papers are read and discussions take place, but no formal resolutions are moved. I think that this meeting serves the purpose of keeping the department and large landowners in touch with each other and that it is not necessary to try and make it more formal.' The view of a co-operative conference on co-operative lines that has been referred to by the Government of India is also criticised in paragraph 5. Finally Mr. Stuart says that while he is against holding regular annual Provincial Board meetings, he is in favour of holding inter-departmental conferences when necessary to discuss special subjects. Here again he has missed the real point as to the constitution of the Board. While it is very good that departmental officers should meet and exchange views, it is also equally necessary that the public should be educated by contact with them, by consideration of their views, by their sympathetic treatment of the difficulties and grievances of the ryot, and by a general explanation of the attitude of the agricultural officer, in securing agricultural development. Inter-departmental conferences are certainly not the best means of doing this. One good result of inter-departmental conferences is travelling allowances, which is very good to draw for those who can do it. Your Excellency, I am not at all prepared to say that these inter-departmental conferences will not do any good. Certainly they may, but not in the direction which I wish to see pursued. Then Mr. Stuart says that at these inter-departmental conferences, questions such as those of irrigation, fuel and fodder, agricultural education, where the Public Works department, the Forest department and the Educational department are equally interested with the Agricultural, might be considered. Are all these subjects in which the ryot and landed classes are not interested? The whole trouble is that every department thinks that it must consult another department although the ryot is keenly interested in irrigation, in fuel and fodder, in agricultural education, etc. Therefore I should think that the actual reasons urged are not quite sound. Mr. Stuart also thinks that the departmental conferences deal mostly with questions of promotions and transfers of staff, departmental rules and practices and he thinks that inter-departmental conferences could not be expanded into general meetings. So that, these are the grounds on which Mr. Stuart has recommended that there should be no Board of Agriculture here.

"Perhaps Honourable Members would be interested to know that there is at any rate in the United Kingdom a Board of Agriculture which is a statutory body established in 1889 of which various officials and non-officials are always members. Its functions are statutory and the large number of agricultural questions with which this Board of Agriculture deals can be seen from the proceedings of this Board."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR:—"Are there non-officials on that Board?"

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO:—"I assume there are some non-officials in the United Kingdom. My idea is that several gentlemen who are not in the service take greater interest in England in problems of agriculture than probably in this country and several questions relating to agricultural research are actively taken up by them and pursued. I hope in times to come our own landed aristocracy will take to the development of agricultural methods in the same way. Your Excellency, the duties of that Board are those that are transferred to the Board and they are: '(1) The powers and duties of the Privy Council under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts and the Destructive Insects Act, 1877; (2) the powers and duties of the Land Commissioners for England under all Acts relating to allotments, commons, Copy-hold, Drainage and Improvement of land, Inclosure, Metropolitan Commons, Tithe Rent Charge, Agriculture holdings, Conveyancing, Glebe land, etc. and the powers and duties of the Land Commissioners under every other Act whether general, local and personal or private and the powers and duties of the Commissioner of Works under the Survey Act, 1870, the Collection and Preparation of Statistics relating to Agriculture and Forestry, the inspection of and reporting on and aiding of any schools which are not public elementary schools, and in which instruction is given in any matter connected with agriculture and forestry and the aiding of the lectures or instruction in connexion with and the inspection of and reporting on any examinations in agriculture or forestry, and making or aiding in making inquiries, experiments or research, etc., for the purpose of promoting agriculture and forestry.'

"So that it is a very comprehensive programme of work and it is placed on a statutory basis. Whether it is necessary to do so or not, here in this Province just now is a matter for consideration, and I for one will be satisfied if it is a Board constituted as stated here on an advisory basis, or if the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar who is always keen that nobody should give irresponsible advice,—and advisory board in agricultural matters might be irresponsible—I certainly would not object to his placing it on a statutory basis as an administrative body. I leave it entirely to him, but I want this active co-operation between the

landed classes and the officers of the Agricultural department to be secured. One of the resolutions at the last Agricultural Conference at Ootacamund was that district boards should have an agricultural staff of district agricultural inspectors who should go about and disseminate information on matters relating to agriculture. That is one way of linking the organization of the districts, and as time goes on, it is possible that district boards may develop an agricultural side for the dissemination of agricultural literature, for carrying on investigation and experiment and actively helping the officers of the Agricultural Department. On these grounds I think, Your Excellency, it will be to the public advantage to have a Board of Agriculture in this Presidency. I have read in the newspapers that such a Board was constituted in the United Provinces. I think I am right, although I am not quite sure, I trust the Honourable Member would see his way to accept this motion."

The Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad seconded the resolution.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR :—"Your Excellency, after the very full treatment which this question has received at the hands of the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao, there is very little for me to add except to say, as he has already pointed out, that this question was considered at length by the Director of Agriculture who reported to us quite recently, last September, that he thought there was no need for a Board of Agriculture like that. We issued the Government Order which was referred to by the Honourable Member and of which I furnished him a copy so as to enable him to deal with the question upon its merits. After hearing what he has said, without committing myself to any final decision on the matter, I am prepared to remit the question back to the Director of Agriculture for re-examination, and in connexion with that we would take note of the criticisms which the Honourable Member has offered on the Director's objections, and after the question is re-examined by the Director, I promise to look into the matter most closely and to give full consideration to what the Honourable Member has now said before I arrive at a final decision. But it is not possible for me to commit myself immediately to a reversal of what has been decided last December. The utmost that I can say is to promise a re-examination of the question with reference to what the Honourable Member has said. If that would satisfy him, I would suggest that he need not press this resolution to a division just now."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—"Is the Honourable Member prepared to accept it ?"

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—"I do not wish to press this. I do not wish to force Government to come to a hasty conclusion in this matter."

With the permission of His Excellency the President, the resolution was withdrawn.

RESOLUTION *RE* MINOR SANITARY GRANTS TO LOCAL BODIES FOR TOWN EXTENSION.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—"I do not propose to move resolution No. XXIII."

The resolution was not moved. The resolution ran thus—

"XXIII. This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that the minor sanitary grants to local bodies for the year 1919-20 should, as far as possible, be devoted to schemes of town extension and also for the acquisition by local bodies of land in the course of development."

RESOLUTION *RE* TRAINING OF MEDICAL OFFICERS IN THE DIAGNOSIS OF TUBERCULOSIS.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—"The resolution that I have the honour to move runs in these terms :—

'XXIV. This Council recommends to the Governor in Council

(*a*) that a scheme be devised for giving a training to medical men in the service of Government and local bodies in the diagnosis of tuberculosis; and

(*b*) that necessary funds for this purpose be found from the Provincial revenues.'

"Your Excellency, there are a large number of special hospitals in Madras for the treatment of special diseases. There is the Ophthalmic hospital, there is the Maternity hospital, and there is now the hospital for the treatment of tuberculosis, and I think that it will be a great advantage to our medical men in the mufassal to undergo some training in these special branches of medical science which are dealt with in these hospitals. On a recent visit to the tuberculosis institute I found that cases have been coming from almost every district in the

Presidency and the district of Malabar and Madras furnished a great number of patients. I also found that the work done in this institution showed that it would be somewhat an advantage if our assistant surgeons and sub-assistant surgeons spent some time in this institution to pick up the main lines on which the work is being done in this institution. Some time ago Your Excellency was pleased to sanction a scheme by which some assistant surgeons in the mufassal undergo a training in ophthalmic surgery. These persons are posted to the districts and I understand they are doing very good work. Similarly, I think a course of training given to medical men in the service of Government and of the local bodies in this institution would be a great advantage in detecting cases of tuberculosis and directing the parties either to go to this institution or to prescribe to them the methods of treatment. If it is left purely to local bodies the subject is certain to be blocked up owing to financial difficulties. I think there should be some system of training for all assistant surgeons in these hospitals a system by which they can come and spend some time both in the Ophthalmic hospital and in this hospital and pick up experience and go back to the mufassal for treating such cases. It is on these considerations that I place this matter before the Council. I trust therefore that it would be possible to do something in the direction indicated in this resolution.'

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao seconded the resolution.

The Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel NIBLOCK:—" Your Excellency, the resolution which has been put before the Council seems to me rather vague, and rather incomprehensible in a sense, in that it only mentions the diagnosis of tuberculosis. Diagnosis alone would not be of any great use to a medical man unless he knew how to treat the disease. And in this disease particularly it is very necessary for the medical man to know how to prevent the disease. Prevention of tuberculosis is much more important than treatment. Diagnosis alone is of minor importance. I take it that the Honourable Member includes treatment when he speaks of diagnosis. I quite agree with the Honourable Member that training is necessary as regards tubercular disease, but at the same time I should like him to understand that all the medical men in this Presidency who are either in Government employ or in the service of local bodies have had a very thorough training in tubercular disease, not only in diagnosis but also in the treatment of the disease. He wishes the treatment to be carried out in the special hospital and he refers to the treatment carried out in the Eye hospital and in the Maternity hospital. As a matter of fact the treatment of tubercular disease at the present time in most parts of the world is carried out in General hospitals. The time certainly is coming when tuberculosis will be treated in special hospitals, and a large number of special hospitals are already in existence at the present time. But my point is that at present our medical men do get a thorough training in the diagnosis and treatment of tuberculosis. They learn that chiefly in the Madras General Hospital. That is the case as regards University students; they learn in the General Hospital. I have got figures for the past five years which go to show that on an average no less than 400 patients suffering from tubercular disease are admitted, and in this connexion I should like to draw attention to one point, and that is that these cases are chronic; and each of these cases remains in the hospital for a much longer period of time than people suffering from ordinary diseases. Therefore, every student has ample opportunities not only of diagnosing but of watching the treatment of this disease. I am speaking now of the in-patients, but in addition to that, a large number attend as out-patients; and here also the student is taught to diagnose in the out-patients' department.

" We all know what students are. We have been students ourselves, and the main object of the students is to pass the University examination. They do not worry themselves about what is to happen after they are qualified. But the main thing is to pass the examination. To get to know tuberculosis it is necessary that they should pay special attention, and to do so, we have made a special point at every examination in connexion with the University and at all the Board examinations of asking questions on this particular disease, either on paper or in the clinical examination, or in giving cases in the ward for diagnosis, or in the oral examination. I know that because I have been an examiner of the University myself; for the last twenty years, off and on I have been on the Board of Examiners and I know that personally to be a fact. This keeps the students up to the mark much more than they are likely to be in after life, human nature being what it is. Not only do students get this thorough grounding in the diagnosis and treatment of this disease in the General Hospital and in the Medical College, but they also undergo a similar training in the different medical schools in this Presidency.

" Then an equally important point, a point to which the Honourable Mover of the resolution wished to draw my attention, was post-collegiate training in tubercular disease. Unfortunately the war has interfered with this, as it appears to have done with a large number of questions brought up before this Council. We have been interfered with by the war not from the financial point of a view, because Government have been always willing to finance us as far as we have asked for in connexion with this, but unfortunately we have not got the men to teach. A very large number of our graduates have gone to the front, the sub-assistant surgeons and assistant surgeons in the service have been very much depleted and in fact we have been working short-handed for many years. It is on this account that proposals for a special post-graduate course have not yet come into effect in Madras. In the year 1913 everything was arranged, the curriculum was drawn up and everything was settled to give a thorough post-collegiate training to medical practitioners; they were to be taken up each year from the

mufassal and to get a thorough grounding not only in tubercular disease but also in the more important diseases. But unfortunately the war stopped us. We sent notices to the different district medical and sanitary officers and the civil surgeons asking them whether any men could be spared for this course, and we got the same answer from all of them, that every man in the district was wanted, and so we had to abandon the proposal of a post-collegiate course for the time being. But a short time ago, now that the war is over—I hope that the war is over—the curriculum was drawn up, on the 31st of March. This is a time-table for the post-graduate course. It is to begin this year and it is to extend through the months of October, November and December; it will be every day in a week except Sunday and it will last from 7 a.m. till 5 p.m. These practitioners will not only attend to the treatment of tubercular disease, but they will attend the Maternity hospital, the Ophthalmic hospital, lectures on medicine, lectures on surgery, lectures on hygiene, lectures on other subjects, and they may attend demonstration classes, the out-patients' departments of the different Government hospitals in Madras, they will also have a special course of post-mortem examinations. By the time the course is over, I think most of them will require a holiday. I think, Your Excellency, this is the correct way of giving the course. I have had a good deal of experience for the last 20 years in hospitals and in the Medical College, I know the students pretty well, I know their capabilities pretty well, and also the capabilities of these graduates, and I am absolutely certain in my own mind that this is the correct method to train medical practitioners. This is the way in which they are trained in England. This is the way in which I underwent the post-graduate course myself. I did not attend one hospital for tubercular disease.

"I am certain that if an ordinary practitioner attends a special hospital for one or two months in which he sees practically nothing but one disease, tubercular disease, he would ordinarily—there are exceptions—get so obsessed with that one particular disease that he will diagnose a disease as such though there is really no such disease. That is the reason. I do not know whether I am giving away a secret, but we always think that if a person is ill, the proper person to go to is the general practitioner and not a specialist, because there is always the risk of the specialist working the symptoms in, to suit his own particular disease. I do not say that he does it for the sake of profit. But he gets so obsessed with this particular disease, and human nature being what it is, all the ailments to which human nature is subject are attributed to the disease with which he is very largely familiar. I am quite sure that that will be the case. Then again, suppose we do send these men to Madras, and give them a training in important diseases including tuberculosis; if you speak to Dr. Mhasker who is at present experimenting on hook-worm he would desire that they should have a training in that; and Dr. Gibson of Guindy would say, they do not know much about vaccine and that you must certainly have vaccine as part of the curriculum. Colonel Cornwall wanted last year numbers of men to be sent to Coonoor to learn the treatment of rabies. And recently venereal diseases have taken the front place and we are told that all medical men should have a special course in venereal diseases. If all medical men get special courses in all these diseases, the result will be,—we are always discovering new diseases—that they will have no time to treat the patients. Sometimes this may be to the benefit of the patients, but not always so. I quite agree with the Honourable Member that medical men not only during the student career but also during the post-collegiate career should have an opportunity of studying tuberculosis, its diagnosis and treatment by up-to-date methods, but I would also add to it that they should also be taught the diagnosis and treatment of other diseases which I consider equally important. I know I have been self-sacrificing, I have not mentioned any single disease in the surgical list,—I can give a list—in which a special course might be considered necessary, and with equal reason.

"Your Excellency, if you will allow me to make a slight digression, there is one point that I should like to mention which I consider of great importance just now and which the Government consider of very great importance at the present time, and that is as regards the medical inspection of school children. Government have ordered that children in different educational institutions in the Presidency ought to undergo periodical medical inspection. I think the idea is a most excellent one and I think it will have a great effect in helping to stop the spread not only of tuberculosis but also of many other diseases. I attach very great importance to this medical inspection of the boys provided it is properly carried out. At present arrangements are being made for carrying it out. There I think a special training would be very useful as regards the best method of examining children. The training need not take a long time. An extra hour may be given to those practitioners who are coming up for three months' post-collegiate study.

"I will say in conclusion that I agree with a great deal of what the Honourable Mover of the resolution has said, and I think that a scheme has been already devised for giving training to medical men in the service of Government, and of local bodies, not only in the diagnosis and treatment of tuberculosis but also in the diagnosis and treatment of other diseases of equal or at any rate almost equal importance. At present, the expenses are being met from Provincial revenues."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR :—"Your Excellency, after hearing the most excellent and satisfactory statement made by the Hon'ble Mr. Niblock I only want to say one word. I think the boards and municipalities have had to engage the services of private practitioners also and they have been taken on conditions which the department have laid down. I only

request that till this course is being taken by the whole of the medical practitioners now available, even though the war does not demand so many men now, those that have been taken into the service for the period of the war may be continued till this kind of instruction is given to all the medical practitioners. That is the only suggestion I wish to make."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—" Your Excellency, I am greatly obliged to the Hon'ble Colonel Niblock for the extremely interesting speech he made in answer to this resolution. That portion of it which referred to the special bias of the specialists and the experts is one that appealed to me more than any other thing. In one sense, every one of us is a specialist. Frequent references are made in this Council to the businessmen and the lawyers. I always feel that the Hon'ble Mr. Thonger should know a little bit of law and I dare say he feels that I should know a little bit of business. The truth of the statement is quite clear. As the Hon'ble the Surgeon-General has pointed out, probably even in the field of medicine this particular bias of the specialist will sometimes result in a little bit of imagination, as he put it, in the diagnosis of diseases. He says that a post-graduate course is already under contemplation. I certainly would not press the resolution. I was thinking of the men now, in service in the mufassal who have no opportunities of acquainting themselves with the latest methods in the diagnosis and treatment of these special diseases. Those opportunities are available in Madras and I wanted to bring this matter to the notice of Your Excellency's Government, so that a scheme may be devised. As a scheme is under consideration, I withdraw my resolution."

With the permission of His Excellency the President, the resolution was withdrawn.

RESOLUTION *RE* COMMITTEE TO INQUIRE AND REPORT ON THE OPENING OF NEW POLICE STATIONS.

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF RAMNAD :—" Your Excellency, the resolution, which I have the honour to move, runs as follows :—

'XXV. This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that a Committee of officials and non-officials be appointed to inquire and report at an early date, as to in what all places new police stations should be opened in this Presidency.'

" A resolution moved in this Council in March 1915 by the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar ran almost similar to the one which I am now placing before the Council, but covered a wider ground. But at that time, Sir Harold Stuart thought that no inquiry of the kind suggested was necessary, and that all that could be done was being carried out as per directions contained in the Police Commission Report, and that it would be premature to upset the introduction of those improvements by appointing another committee. This is a brief review of the discussion that took place at that time. The work of reallocation of police stations began, I believe, in the year 1906 and was completed in the year 1916. In answer to a question put by the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju in the February meeting of this Council last year, the Government replied that the 'reallocation of police stations in all the districts in this Presidency has been completed, and the Government do not anticipate any appreciable addition to the number of stations in the near future.' But circumstances have radically changed since 1916, and therefore it is that I am here to-day with this resolution.

" We have something like 975 police stations and 372 outposts in this Presidency which is 142,322 square miles in area. I don't think I need reiterate the various arguments raised in support of an investigation of the kind now asked for, as the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar and those who followed him in 1916, had very nearly exhausted all the arguments that could be said in its favour. On a later occasion, I have shown how the Sub-Inspector in charge of a police station is overworked and how it must be physically impossible for any officer with such multifarious duties to effectively carry on the duties of a police officer, and that, over a very large area under his control. I must at once say that the location of police stations at present is highly unsatisfactory. To a question put by the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar at this meeting, the Government have answered that there is no proposal under consideration for adding outposts and police stations to the existing ones in the Ramnad district. This is indeed a very disquieting news. I shall, therefore, just endeavour to give some particulars regarding the Ramnad district. Till recently, a village, which is not two miles from Ramnad, was under the control of the circle inspector of Sivaganga who, to visit the place, would have to travel 59 miles by road before he could reach it. That village was under the jurisdiction of the police station at Paramagudi, and the Sub-Inspector could never visit the place unless he travelled some 25 miles by road. I can give several instances of this kind from my own personal knowledge, and I do not think these facts can ever be controverted. During the recent economic distress, the sense of insecurity felt by the public, I think, is within the knowledge of the Honourable Members of this Council, and the scare of looting and plunder was indeed very great in some of the southern districts. Particularly in Ramnad at that time, we had the most unfortunate Kamudi riots which engaged all the available police, leaving other areas practically unprotected. Thousands of cattle have been stolen and several cart-loads of grains have been

way-laid. The police were absolutely unable to cope with the situation, and one main cause for all that had happened is the abolition of police stations in very many important centres. Of course, in this Council it will be easy for the Government to say that they don't agree to such a conclusion; but I know that they must have received reports from the District Superintendents of Police and other officials regarding the inadequacy of police stations, and particularly of not locating them in suitable places. During the looting scare, I know from personal experience, that people in villages kept awake the whole night for fear of onslaught from the looters. The looters, as a matter of fact, used to visit the villages during the day and levy black-mail, failing which they used to threaten the villagers with an attack that night for carrying away their properties. In several places it has so happened, and I give an instance below to show how the allocation of police stations at present is absolutely unsatisfactory. There is a village known as Uttrakosamangai seven miles to the south of Ramnad, and the magisterial jurisdiction is with the Sub-Magistrate of Ramnad; but it belongs to the police station seven miles further to the south. One evening, all of a sudden, the Sub-Magistrate got a report,—and so did I—that a large band of looters had visited the village that evening, and having failed to levy black-mail, had announced their intention of raiding the village that night at 9 o'clock. I sent the report to the police station and to the Sub-Magistrate; the police said that it was in the jurisdiction of the station at Sikkal, fourteen miles off from Ramnad. I presume the magistrate could not do anything except forwarding the same through a special messenger to the police station at Sikkal. By the time the messenger reached, it would have been very nearly midnight; in the winter season, access to the place is still more difficult for want of good roads, and wet fields and irrigation channels being numerous on the way. In any case, the police from Sikkal could not have reached Uttrakosamangai before the following morning, which would have been a day after the fair. Uttrakosamangai is a place where there was a police station till the reorganization came into force. There was another police station at Kilakarai which is only five or six miles from Uttrakosamangai. There was also a police station at Kodikulam where, I think, the greatest havoc was played during this time upon cattle. All these stations have been abolished. There was a station at Bogalur which too has been abolished, and which was within a distance of five miles from Uttrakosamangai. So, you now see, sir, that the abolition of police stations in very important centres has contributed much to this looting scare. The District Magistrate, in spite of his very earnest endeavours, could not effectively check the spread of this looting scare at the very outset for want of these police stations. From Ramnad to Rāmēsvaram, a distance of some forty miles, there is no police station. In Pamban, I presume there is an outpost; but I must say that these outposts are not of much use in effect. The necessity for having more police stations has considerably increased owing to the economic distress now prevailing in this Presidency. In the Kamudi side, a number of police stations have been abolished. From Kamudi and Mudukulattūr tracts, come large numbers of criminals, and in spite of this obvious fact, the police stations have been abolished. Of course, I have no particulars regarding the sufferings in this respect of other districts; but I have not the slightest doubt that in other districts also there exists this complaint, and Honourable Members representing those districts here will bear me out when I say that the absence of police stations in important centres is nothing peculiar to this district, but is a complaint concerning the whole Presidency.

"In the matter of administration of police stations and investigation of crimes, we want some reform. There ought to be a separate agency in each district for the investigation of crimes which, year after year, are seen mounting up. During the looting scare, on an intimation from the village headman of Uttrakosamangai, that a large band of men had assembled outside the village with a view to loot their houses that evening, I had to send a special messenger on horse-back to find out if that was true, because no policeman in the Ramnad station would go to that village as it belonged to Sikkal jurisdiction. In these circumstances, sir, I ask the Government if it can be contended for a moment that there does not exist sufficient reason for the appointment of a committee to visit various centres in this Presidency and inquire officials and other prominent men regarding the reallocation of police stations. Even if the reallocation should involve an additional expenditure of a few more lakhs, I submit, it would indeed be money well spent. Of course, if there was what is known as a village police, about which there has been a good deal of discussion in this Council, especially by that police reformer, the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar, I should not think that any reallocation on a large scale would be necessary. But in its absence, if there should be no reallocation and addition of police stations, I am afraid, the Government will, before long, have to regret very seriously their failure in this respect. The very presence of police stations in central places prevents criminals from resorting to violence and committing crimes, and therefore I would earnestly request the Government not to hesitate to appoint a committee as requested in this resolution, which, I once again assure the Government, is so much needed for creating a sense of security in the minds of the people. The appointment of a committee to investigate the reallocation of police stations will not, I submit, be uprooting what was done till 1916, but will only be to make a thorough and more satisfactory scrutiny regarding the location of police stations.

"With these few remarks, I beg to commend this resolution for the acceptance of this Council."

5TH APRIL 1919.] (*Mr. Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar; Mr. Davidson; Mr. Rama Ayyangar.*)

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur A. T. G. M. AHMAD TAMBI MARAKKAYAR:—"Your Excellency, the Honourable Mover of the resolution has stated the matter so clearly that I do not think I have much to say. However, I should like to say a few words in support of this resolution. Since the introduction of the circle inspector system, several minor police stations were abolished and the present administration of the police is unsatisfactory. In the recent looting, the necessity of police *bandobast* was keenly felt. I consider that the appointment of a committee consisting of officials and non-officials to inquire into and report on the whole question is a sound idea. With these remarks I second the resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON:—"Your Excellency, I am afraid that in regard to the question of a general investigation I must adhere to the position taken up by Sir Harold Stuart in 1916, namely, that it is premature to undertake any such inquiry throughout the Presidency. It must be remembered—the Hon'ble the Raja himself has admitted it—that it was only in 1916 that the allocation of police stations as based upon the proposals of the Police Commission was actually completed. That allocation was the result of a thorough and prolonged examination founded upon elaborate scrutiny of administrative needs, geographical factors, distribution and criminality of the population and a variety of other factors which come into the decision of such questions. It is not claimed on behalf of the Police Department that the existing allocation is in any way perfect. Far from it. The Government have received a variety of proposals at one time or another from district officers and from the Inspector-General of Police for modifications. But the policy adopted has, I think, rightly been to discourage the perpetual alteration of existing arrangements until they have been tried sufficiently long for it to be safe to infer from practical experience that they are unsatisfactory and really in need of change. The Hon'ble the Raja has referred to various previous discussions and questions in regard to this matter. The latest instance which he cited was the answer given to question No. 24 at this meeting put by the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar. Comparing that question with the resolution of the Hon'ble the Raja, it occurred to me to wonder whether the resolution was not a case of generalizing from the particular instance of Ramnad. The answer given by Government to the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar is 'No such proposal is under consideration.' That is perfectly true so far as the Government are concerned, but after that answer had been settled, I referred to the Inspector-General of Police and also looked up the earlier history of the case. I found that in 1914 the Superintendent and the District Magistrate specifically proposed substantial changes in the police arrangements of the Ramnad district. The Inspector-General held them up on financial grounds. He found that the proposals put forward involved the creation of two additional circles, four new stations, three new outposts and additions to the district strength of two inspectors, seven sub-inspectors, 16 head constables and 59 constables. This Council is well aware of the dead set which some of its members usually make to any increase in the police staff and I cannot blame the Inspector-General of Police if he attached importance to the financial consideration, especially as the great war was then only beginning, and adopted a course which undoubtedly was in consonance with the wishes of the Government of India and the Government of Madras and endeavoured to pursue a policy of economy. He sent back instructions to the Superintendent to modify his proposals and recommend only such of them as were imperative and could be carried out without much expenditure. The result was a revised proposal involving the creation of new outposts and additions to the police stations in the Tiruppattur circle, the special policing of the Chettinad, the transfer of a police station from Pamban to Rāmēsvaram, which was considered to be a growing need and other transfers of stations designed to make the Ramnad circle more compact. I cannot pretend to go into details of this revision but the proposals did represent a measure of reform and they were sanctioned by the Government in March 1916. Admittedly, according to the views of the officers of the department and the District Magistrate, this reform did not meet the full requirements of the case. The Inspector-General of Police, when I referred my question and answer to him for remarks, replied to me that he has now asked the Deputy Inspector-General of Police to look into the matter and to submit any proposals which can be made without involving much additional cost; obviously I could not encourage him to be extravagant. If the Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad will give the Deputy Inspector-General and the local officers the advantage of his advice as based on personal experience gained during the recent looting, I am sure they will be only too ready to take it into consideration.

"This particular case really sums up the general attitude of the Government. It is that we cannot so shortly after the completion of a re-allocation based upon the inquiries of the Police Commission take up the matter of general revision, recognizing as we do that any general revision will entail a very large cost indeed. But we are prepared in particular cases to consider the need for revision if it has been demonstrated by sufficient practical experience. There is no reason to suppose that the Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate and the Deputy Inspector-General will not fully consult public opinion, local public opinion, in these matters. But I do not think Government would be acting wisely in stimulating proposals of this description in every part of the Presidency by the creation of a roving commission of inquiry. For that reason I am bound on behalf of Government to oppose this resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR:—"If the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson had inferred from my question and the Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad's resolution coming up at the same time in this Council, I can assure him that the two things came on quite independently."

(Mr. Davidson; Mr. Rama Ayyangar.) [5TH APRIL 1919.

The Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON :—" My surmise was merely that both the proposals originated in a common cause, the inadequate police arrangements of the district of Ramnad."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR :—" Absolutely so. It so happened that the two things have proceeded independently from independent sources. However I am more concerned with the statement made by the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson to-day. The question is, he thought that the general investigation was opposed and this question of the stations was settled and this was treated as premature. I would invite his attention to the discussions on the previous occasion. I do remember that Sir Harold Stuart thought that the question of posting stations was still going on and he said that the question of allocation of these stations would be considered as far as was necessary. In fact the determination of the Police Commission was to abolish police stations as much as possible, giving on an average about 120 to 150 square miles of area for each police station, it being arranged that the sub-inspector shall be in charge with a higher pay and that the village police will be increased or strengthened so as to afford perfect safety to the villages also. That question, as was pointed out by the Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad, could not be settled soon, though it is under contemplation, and village police have not been strengthened as the Police Commission expected they would be. Naturally, in the interim, nothing could be done to go against the plan that was adopted by the Police Commission, so that, I agreed on that occasion with Sir Harold Stuart that till the strengthening of the village police came in, it was necessary that this lower number of police stations should be kept up, but it was necessary to see that these stations were posted at the proper places. The question was being considered, the Superintendents were being written to and the whole matter had not settled down. But what I do find is that in reply to my question even then, the question of 995 police stations was settled, and the question of outposts, about 370, was settled, and the permanent allocation of police stations had not been really disposed of. If I remember right, I was then told that the Tanjore District Superintendent of Police and some others were communicating with the Government that certain stations will have to be permanently posted in places other than those where they were posted. I refer to this, so that the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson may go into it completely and satisfy himself that that was the state of affairs when this discussion took place in this Council. In fact, the question is not one that has been settled. That is my humble submission. That was the biggest question that was necessary to be considered. It is not that every District Superintendent of Police has agreed that the posting of stations had been all right. There were reports made and there were instructions given, but the only point that was then contested was that within a few years of the Police Commission there could not be a committee of officials and non-officials to consider the eight or nine heads, that, I said, would have to be considered by that committee, and it was agreed that this portion would be looked into. The Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad proposes—as I said, I would not have proposed it in the same fashion as he proposes—that a committee of officials and non-officials should be appointed to inquire and report at an early date as to in what places new police stations should be opened in this Presidency. I would prefer that one officer is put on special duty with power to co-opt members, important non-officials in each district and the Deputy Inspector-General of each division, to go into this matter and report at an early date. It is not necessary that there should be any special committee more than that an officer is put on duty with power to him to add one or two members in each district to find out how this might be done. This matter becomes more important in this way.

"The main question is the question of cost that has been raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson and rightly. Probably it might appear from the speech that he made that we have been insistently arguing all these years from the year 1914. I am quite of another opinion. The Police Commission which examined the strength of the police and the cost of the police fully well went into it, and from 36 lakhs which was the charge in 1895–96 when the Police Commission sat, they came to the conclusion that 63 lakhs would have to be spent on the Police department after the reorganization, and the total strength inclusive of constables, head constables, sub-inspectors and inspectors and all other staff came to 27,000 as was then estimated. We have now gone up to 36,000 and our cost has gone up from Rs. 63 lakhs to Rs. 126 lakhs; and excluding village establishment which has been tacked on at a cost of Rs. 16 lakhs, we will find we have risen from Rs. 63 lakhs which was the utmost that was expected to be reached by the Commission to Rs. 110 or 112 lakhs. That is not the main point, but the one point raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson was that in Ramnad they proposed a staff which would add to the expenditure of the Police department and that would practically bring us to this inconsistency. It is that which brought us to this point. In fact, I have no doubt that when they determined the police force for the province, they took everything into consideration and fixed it at 27,000, but what we have actually done is we have gone up to 36,000 inclusive of the temporary force. It is not that this force cannot be sufficient for this province. There is no doubt that this force is not rightly distributed. It cannot be contended that the Police Commission did commit mistakes, because I have thoroughly well gone into this matter and I am perfectly convinced that 27,000, if properly distributed, would give the necessary force. That is my contention in this Council, but the present force of 36,000 is not insufficient. I want that a police officer is put on special duty to take into consideration any readjustment of the police force in the several districts; and if each Deputy Inspector-General finds out for his own jurisdiction the police that is available or necessary for ordinary purposes of merely guarding duty and of the police needed for the detective and preventive and other

duties, and if we post for each district a certain number, he will be able to see that the strength is not insufficient, but that it is more than what is needed and that the expense is unnecessarily incurred. That is my submission and I am prepared to place before such officer anything necessary to show that what I say is correct. I would refer the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson to the tables that are attached to the report of the Police Commission which worked in detail the number of policemen required for each one of the branches, the increase that it would make upon the previous police that we had, the additional police that we had to engage for special duties like criminal settlement, etc. I have no objection to all that has been added for supplementing the present police force, for example, the Criminal Intelligence Department."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—"I want the Honourable Member to confine himself to the subject matter of the resolution that a committee be appointed to consider where the police stations should be allocated. He cannot range over the whole question of police strength and police expenditure, the criminal settlements, etc."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR :—"It is perhaps unnecessary to mention at length, but however because the question of cost is raised, I thought it necessary. I only wanted to point out that some form of committee like a special officer on special duty with power to add or consult local people is necessary to consider whether there should be additional police. My submission is that this will have to be gone into. It cannot be put off long and we will have again and again to come to it till it is satisfactorily solved. The village police not having been strengthened, the whole basis of the report of the Police Commission has not been acted up to, but we have reduced the stations as recommended by them. What is the use of giving effect to one portion of the report without giving effect to other portions? I dare say many District Magistrates and Superintendents will agree, and they will place before that officer all that is necessary to show that a re-allocation of the police stations and a readjustment of the police force in the various places will enable the Government to have much better effect and to have the administration of the Police department much better."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. KRISHNA RAO :—"Your Excellency, the resolution suggests the appointment of a committee for the purpose of ascertaining in what places new police stations should be established in this Presidency. The first point regarding which it is necessary for this Council to be satisfied is whether it is or is not necessary to have additional police stations opened in this Presidency. If we succeed in inducing the Government to accept that position, the next point for consideration will be whether that can be achieved by the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials in the manner suggested. The discussion which has already taken place on this subject must have convinced the Government that there have been complaints in various parts of the Presidency about the necessity for the increase of police stations. The Hon'ble Mr. Davidson remarked that we had specific information regarding the district of Ramnad; but that owing to financial considerations, those proposals were kept in abeyance by the Inspector-General of Police. A perusal of the various reports, extracts from which are appended in the report of the administration of the Police Department would show that various District Magistrates who sent up these reports with their remarks pointed out some difficulties which existed in the various districts. Though the idea of opening additional police stations did not specifically present itself before their minds, their attention was drawn to other defects. In some cases, they pointed out that the work of detection was not satisfactory and sub-inspectors were not doing that work properly, that a system of rewards should be tried and that in cases of criminal settlements the escapes should be accounted for. I am giving a summary of the various extracts from the reports of District Magistrates appended to the administration report to the Police Department.

"I may point out that the financial consideration is no doubt a very important one which stares us in our face. Probably the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson would suggest that complaints have been made in this Council on various occasions about the increase of police expenditure and ask whether, in view of these complaints and in view of the various proposals made for reducing the expenditure on police, proposals like the one under consideration for increasing the expenditure could be thought of. Your Excellency, I may point out that if a satisfactory inquiry is made, it will be found that the number of police stations whether judged with reference to the area or with reference to the population is not quite adequate. I have got figures, but I do not wish to take up the time of the Council. I have before me the figures given in the report of the Police Department where the number of police stations is given with reference to the population and also with reference to the area. I know that on a former occasion when a similar question was raised, the comparison was made with the number of police stations in other provinces; and we were asked to be satisfied that, in view of the expenditure incurred on that purpose, it was not possible to make further advance and that the recommendations of the Police Commission were being kept in view. I venture to suggest that that is not the proper way of looking at the whole question.

"The chief way of looking at the question is whether in view of the dimensions of this province and the size of the various districts, which it will be noticed is very large, it is quite adequate to have a few police stations in each district as we now have. It is not possible for persons in remote parts of the districts to communicate with police stations on account of the long distance; and such a state of things can only be remedied if there is a reallocation of stations. The Hon'ble Mr. Davidson pointed out that reallocation was completed only in 1916,

and that it is too early for us to raise that question. The question has specifically arisen in the case of one or two districts ; but the point is of general importance. I am not very particular about the particular form suggested. The Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar suggested that a special officer should be deputed to ascertain in what districts and to what extent there should be these police stations. The Hon'ble Mr. Davidson deprecated the idea of a roving commission for the purpose of provoking an inquiry of this kind ; and he felt confident that District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police would be able to give information after consulting public opinion. If it is difficult for Your Excellency's Government to accept the resolution in its present form, if it is inconvenient to appoint a committee to go from place to place and district to district with the object of ascertaining whether the number of police stations is adequate or not, and whether they ought to be reallocated, may I not ask that specific references should be made to District Superintendents of Police and the District Magistrates as to whether they consider the number of police stations adequate ? I make that suggestion in view of the fact that the Government have committed themselves to a fixed number of police stations. There may be District Magistrates who may not be satisfied about the adequacy of the police stations. Even if the Government are not at present prepared to appoint a committee for the purpose of this inquiry, I think there will be useful purpose served by inquiring into this matter and calling for specific proposals from District Magistrates who will consult public opinion and also Superintendents, asking them to state whether they consider the arrangement of police stations and out-posts adequate. If all these proposals are before the Government, then the question may be taken up as to what the cost will be that would be involved in carrying out those proposals, whether there should be any readjustment of expenditure in the Police Department, whether proposals for additional police stations or out-posts would present a formidable figure, and whether it is not possible to effect economics in other directions. These are all matters which can be taken up with advantage. I do not think Government should hesitate even to call for information from the various District Magistrates who are responsible for the police administration in the various districts. As admitted by the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson, he was giving them instructions to consult public opinion and ascertain the facts not merely from officials but from leading non-officials having experience and formulate definite proposals. I see no objection to it. On so many occasions and on so many questions the Government trust to District officers ; and in this matter when a point is raised as to the adequacy of police arrangements, they should not hesitate to consult them though it might result in additional expenditure under police. If the expenditure has to be incurred for the purpose of security or for the purpose of preserving the peace of the country, notwithstanding the objection raised against the general increase in police expenditure, I do not think this Council would hesitate to grant it."

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF RAMNAD :—" Your Excellency, I may also assure the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson, if such assurance is needed, that my sending up the resolution and the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar's sending up the interpellation had nothing to do with each other. Because the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar represents the three districts, he sent that interpellation in order to elicit some information regarding the police stations in Ramnad because Ramnad was the district that was affected most during the looting scare caused by the economic distress. The Hon'ble Mr. Davidson told us that the Inspector-General submitted a scheme or report in 1914 and that those proposals could not be given effect to as they involved very heavy expenditure. But may I submit that even those proposals will now be out of date owing to the circumstances which have so radically changed since that year ? I am not very anxious that a committee should be appointed. My Hon'ble Friend Mr. Krishna Rao has anticipated me. He suggested that if Government would very kindly instruct District Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police to consult non-officials in their respective districts and submit proposals to Government, and the Government considered them, that will satisfy us. May I know whether the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson can give me some such assurance ? If the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson can give me some such assurance, I may not feel the necessity to press this resolution to a division. Will the Government kindly ascertain the opinions of District Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police ?"

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" Does the Honourable Member refer only to Ramnad district ?"

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF RAMNAD :—" No."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" Speaking for the Government on the financial side, it will not be possible to accept this resolution. The expenditure on police has been advancing considerably and each year makes a further advance. I am sure that such an inquiry would lead to a further expenditure on police. I think it is most undesirable to open that door for a further demand for further expenditure."

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF RAMNAD :—" It is not my wish that the proposals coming from the various District Magistrates should be given effect to all at once. They may be given effect to as we find funds."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" My Honourable Colleague has told the Honourable Member that he will have an informal inquiry made into the position of the Ramnad district. That is the district in which the Honourable Member is principally interested. It is his

experience in that district that enabled him to bring forward this motion. I am afraid on the general matter Government are not prepared to go further and cannot give any further assurance. He should be content with that assurance. If that will satisfy the Honourable Member, my Honourable Colleague will assure him."

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF RAMNAD :—" It would indeed be very selfish to accept an assurance of that kind and withdraw a resolution. I would rather take a defeat by pressing this resolution to a division."

The resolution was put to the Council and lost.

The Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON :—" May I ask for a poll in order that we may know the names of those gentlemen who would approve of this suggested increase of expenditure on police ?"

The poll was taken with the following result :—

For	*Against*
The Hon'ble Mr. K. Rama Ayyangar.	The Hon'ble Mr. L. Davidson.
,, Mr P. Siva Rao.	,, Mr. C. G. Todhunter.
,, Mr. B. Venkatapati Raju.	,, Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks.
,, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar.	,, Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell.
,, Mr. K. Sadasiva Bhat.	,, Diwan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao.
,, Diwan Bahadur Suryanarayanamurti Nayudu.	,, Mr. A. F. G. Moscardi.
,, Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.	,, Lieut.-Col. Niblock.
,, The Raja of Ramnad.	,, Mr. L. E. Buckley.
,, Rao Bahadur T. Ranga Achariyar.	,, Mr. L. T. Harris.
,, Yaqub Hasan Sahib Bahadur.	,, Mr. R. B. Wood.
,, Khan Bahadur A. T. G. M. Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar.	,, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Husain Sahib Bahadur.
,, Mr. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar.	,, Mr. T. Richmond.
,, Mr. Suryanarayana Rao.	,, Sir Francis Spring.
,, Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao.	,, Mr. R. Littlehailes.
,, Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar.	,, Mr. J. H. Thonger.
	,, The Most Rev. J. Aelen.
	,, Mr. W. Hutton.
	,, Mr. W. J. J. Howley.
	,, The Advocate-General.
	,, Diwan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar.
	,, Mr. H. G. Stokes.

The resolution was declared lost, 15 voting *for* and 21 *against* it.

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" Resolution No. XXVI is not to be moved."

RESOLUTION *RE* CLOSURE OF CANALS IN THE KISTNA EASTERN DELTA.

The following resolution which stood in the name of the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu Garu was not moved :—

"XXVI. This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that the orders of the Government for the closure of the canals in the Kistna Eastern delta be modified and that instructions be issued that the canals in the said delta be kept open till the 15th April."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" I may mention that resolution No. XXVII will be accepted."

RESOLUTION *RE* PROMOTION OF NEW CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—" I will formally move the resolution. It is as follows :—

'XXVII. This Council recommends to His Excellency in Council that the Government should take all necessary steps for increasing the present rate of creation or formation of new co-operative societies and should especially get appointed a much larger number of officers (with staff) for the creation of new societies on an ampler scale.'

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao seconded the resolution.
The resolution was put to the Council and agreed to.

(Mr. Narasimha Ayyar.) [5TH APRIL 1919.

RESOLUTION *RE* FREE ADVERTISEMENT FOR CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—" Your Excellency, the resolution that I have the honour to move runs in these terms :—

'XXVIII. This Council recommends to His Excellency in Council that the Government should grant free advertisement to co-operative institutions in all the periodical publications issued by Government.'

" I am quite sure Government would have great sympathy with the object of this resolution inasmuch as their sympathy has been shown in accepting the previous resolution. I take it that we all have the same object, namely, to give as many facilities as possible to the various co-operative societies to do their work efficiently and to bring the benefit of co-operative institutions within the reach of as many as possible. That is the object underlying this resolution. One way by which co-operative institutions can do more work is by getting more funds. One of the chief obstacles in the way of co-operation spreading in the Presidency is the absence of sufficient money. Various suggestions have been put forward from various sources. For instance the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju suggested that the suggestions of Sir Daniel Hamilton should be given effect to, but we are not now, in this Council, in a position to say anything directly about it. Here is a matter by which we can do something to make more money flow into this movement. The reason why co-operative institutions do not get all the money that they want is not that there is a special tendency to hoard large sums of money in various places, though I do admit that the little possessed by the rustics in the interior especially in time of war, it would be rather difficult to get out of their hands. The greatest difficulty to get money out from Indian hands is the fear of losing capital and the best way of overcoming that diffidence is to assure as many as possible and in as many ways as possible that such fears are groundless. The degree of credit attached to co-operative associations is rather poor when compared with what it might be. There are many people who have spare capital, some of which might be easily diverted into co-operative channels if all people lend their aid to it. I am suggesting in this resolution a very simple remedy. Government in various publications are either making no use of their fly leaves at all or are advertising things which do not require advertisement. When I get the law reports I see all sorts of miscellaneous Acts advertised, some Urdu translations, some Telugu translations of these Acts and we find heaps of pages printed saying that the Acts of so many years are available at one anna three pies, postage six pies, etc. They are repeated month after month very little to the advantage of Government. I think very little money is made out of it. Whether Government are wise in advertising their legal publications is only a by-issue. I am concerned only with pointing out that there is plenty of scope to do work in the direction pointed out by me. If the Government only wish to do so, the postage will be the same, the additional cost by way of printing paper will not be appreciable. You can give every month a chance to the leading co-operative banks in the districts to advertise, in the Law Reports for instance, what amount of capital they have, what reserve they have, what work they have done and one or two certificates, that they get from the registrar. Some of these co-operative banks get excellent certificates from the registrar as to their solvency and reliability but these certificates are hidden away in the annual reports and the ordinary man who has got some money to invest seldom comes across such certificates. Along with private notifications that so and so's son is found to be lavish and so and so is not bound by the debts of his son, we can easily find room for advertisement to co-operative societies. I think that further illustration is hardly necessary. I took the law reports as they are reports which a lawyer looks at, and it is often said that the lawyer has a lot of current coin. The co-operative registrar, Mr. Hemingway, was surprised when he took up the department to see how the much maligned lawyers and Brahmans were putting their moneys and labour into the co-operative banks. I think lawyers can do a great deal more if the advantages of investing in co-operative institutions are placed before them by means of notifications in reports and gazettes. I am not particularly referring to legal publications. Government issue every week a large number of publications to go into the hands of the public and yet we do not find co-operative institutions sufficiently advertised. I know, however, sometimes along with the *Fort St. George Gazette*, the accounts with minute details and audit reports are published at great expense. That is no doubt one sort of advertisement for co-operative societies. We are thankful to the Government for it, but what I am pointing out is that when that has been done, there still remains a great deal to be done. It will cost Government practically nothing. It will be easy for the Government to accept and very easy to carry out. and if it is pointed out that my language is too wide, I am quite willing to say 'in such publications issued by the Government as they may find it convenient.' I am quite willing to drop the phrase 'in all periodicals', if that is considered ambitious. But I cannot see any objection to any other portion of this resolution, because co-operative institutions seek only advertisement. I know that a great deal is made of the applications to Government for pecuniary aid. That objection has never been raised to seeking advertisement. If we ask the Government to guarantee all the loans, I have heard it said that it ceases to be co-operation. Whether that position is sound or not, I need not now discuss. But certainly no objection can be raised to this modest request that the Government should, in their numerous

publications find some place somewhere to inform those who have money of the advantages of these institutions. It is enough if very short notes are published. I can assure Honourable Members that the space that may be taken would not be much. The district banks may put in six lines for instance or ten lines, and that may appear once a month if the Government so choose. There is no attempt to take all the available space for their own advertisement. I think on the whole the request is so simple, and it appears to me that I am taking up the time, of the Council almost unnecessarily. Therefore without more I shall wait to see what the position of the Government will be and if the objection is to the phrase 'in all periodical publications' I would substitute the other words I have mentioned. I hope in that shape at least it will be possible for the Government to accept it."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. Suryanarayana Rao seconded the resolution.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. Y. G. CAMPBELL:—"Your Excellency, I am afraid it is not possible for the Government to accept the resolution as put before the Council, or as the Honourable Mover suggested he would amend it. Besides the law reports there are other periodical publications, such as the *Fort St. George Gazette*, the District Gazette, the Quarterly Civil List, the Annual Administration Reports, College Calendars, Agricultural Calendar. A great number of these are mainly used for purposes of reference and go chiefly to officials, and I doubt whether they would be of much use in advertizing co-operative societies. The number of these societies is now very large; it exceeds 3,000; and if we gave free access to the pages of Government publications to these societies, we might have hundreds of pages in each issue of the Gazette taken up with these advertisements. At the present time, societies other than agricultural credit societies are allowed to publish free their annual audit reports. That, as the Honourable Mover mentioned, gives them some form of advertisement. If more is done, another disadvantage would be that it would give a sort of Government guarantee to the societies. This is what I gather the Honourable Mover wants. I think that would be a mistake."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR:—"I did not ask for Government guarantee."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. Y. G. CAMPBELL:—"It might give that impression to other people. The principle governing private advertisements in the *Fort St. George Gazette* is that it should not compete with local newspapers. Advertisements are accepted if they are required by law or by rules having the force of law, to be published in the Gazette, or if they relate to matters of public importance, or if they are of a kind usually published in the London Gazette. Advertisements will be far more effective if they are published in the public newspapers and we ought not to compete with them by offering publication in the Gazettes."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. KRISHNA RAO:—"There ought to be no difficulty in this being published in the District Gazette, so far as societies in each district are concerned. There is some force in the suggestion made that if these advertisements are published in all publications there will be difficulty. The suggestion made by the Hon'ble Mr. Campbell that this may be published in newspapers is not good. I do not think that it would serve a useful purpose. It will be a costly business and it will not be very useful. But it would be more convenient if arrangements can be made for co-operative societies being advertized in each District Gazette. There should be no difficulty in accepting this suggestion. It might serve some purpose. A graphic description has been given about College Calendars and Agricultural Calendars to show that we cannot accept the position that it is to be published in all publications."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"The chief question is whether these societies want to publish advertisements. The great majority of them do not need advertisements. The Honourable Member has mentioned banks. Banks are advertised in newspapers. This is a matter in which we have not consulted the Registrar and Government will be prepared to consult the Registrar and see if there is any advantage to be gained by giving advertisement in the law reports. I do not think Government will have any objection to that; but Government cannot accept the resolution. We will consult the Registrar and we will be guided by the views of the Co-operative Registrar if it will meet the views of the Honourable Member."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR:—"That meets my views. I shall not now ask for a decision. We must have the view of the Co-operative Registrar. I do not think the Hon'ble Mr. Campbell was right in saying that the fact that advertisements go to officials is a consideration against my proposal. I think officials have got as much money to put by as non-officials have and some official money will be quite as welcome in the co-operative bank as non-official money. As to the impression of Government giving the guarantee it must be very ignorant people that would draw such hasty conclusions. I do not think emphasis ought to be laid upon the possibility of such an impression. For instance, Government do not take the responsibility to vouch for the facts published in a private advertisement. For instance, in an advertisement by a father that he is not responsible for the debts of his son, Government are not taken to vouch for the truth of any facts. With regard to co-operative banks, the difficulty is that they cannot afford money to pay for advertisements in newspapers. Therefore it is not a question of competition with the newspapers. All these things might be considered by the Registrar, and this is a matter in which he ought to be consulted. So I shall not press my resolution."

With the permission of His Excellency the President, the resolution was withdrawn.

(*Mr. Suryanarayana Rao; Mr. Venkatapati Raju; Mr. Ranga Achariyar; Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar.*) [5TH APRIL 1919.

RESOLUTION *RE* SUB-REGISTRARS AND THE CIVIL JUDICIAL TEST.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"Your Excellency, the resolution that I wish to propose runs thus :—

'XXIX. This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that the sub-registrars whose promotions have been affected by the imposition of the condition requiring them to pass the Civil Judicial test, since removed, be restored to their proper rank and given the preference to which such rank entitles them.'

"I appeal to the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar to accept this resolution as a matter of favour, because after all, it concerns only 19 persons in the whole Presidency and not more. At the time when the Registration tests were first introduced, the sub-registrars were recruited from graduates and under-graduates and were given promotion according to the tests that they passed, but it was said that district registrars should pass the Civil Judicial test. Gradually promotions from sub-registrar were made to the district registrar's post and at that time there was no restriction imposed with regard to their qualifications but afterwards it was laid down that only those who passed the Civil Judicial test could become district registrars. The consequence was that the Civil Judicial test was made a condition precedent, even with regard to the first and second-grade sub-registrars, though there was no such qualification necessary for them to become sub-registrars. Later on, the selection system was introduced by which those in the sub-registrar's grade who passed the Civil Judicial test were given promotion in preference to those who had not passed the Civil Judicial test and the consequence was that among sub-registrars, those that passed the Civil Judicial test got promotions over those who were already in the service, but who unfortunately had not passed the Civil Judicial test. The consequence is that though by seniority and by service they were entitled to promotion, they were not able to get the promotion because they did not make themselves eligible to become district registrars when the time should come; and those persons were overlooked and those who passed the Civil Judicial test, were given promotion. In 1918, that restriction has been removed and even district registrars are told that they need not pass the test and all are eligible for promotion and can become district registrars. The humble appeal that I now make to the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar is only with regard to the 19 persons who are about to retire within a short period. They are otherwise eligible but their claims have been overlooked. They have almost completed their services, they have only two or three years to complete their service and their complaint is that while they have put in a full term service which would otherwise enable them to become district registrars, their claims have been overlooked on account of not passing the Civil Judicial test, and now that that test has been removed, they need not be asked to pass that test and promotion may be given to them in the ordinary course, and they may be restored to that rank which they would have occupied if promotions had been made as if they were not required to pass this test. I do not know why their claims were overlooked in the promotions to the first and second grade sub-registrar, because it is only district registrars that should pass the test and not sub-registrars. They were overlooked, probably because they would not be finally eligible for the post of district registrars. I believe there are about seven in the first grade, twelve in the second grade of sub-registrars, and I find all are born before 1870. Therefore they will retire very soon. I appeal on their behalf so that they may have the satisfaction of becoming district registrars, or they might get a larger pension when they retire. It is a humble appeal only on behalf of 19 and I hope the Government would see their way to accept this resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"Your Excellency, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. I do not think the attitude of Government will depend upon the suppliant attitude or the defiant attitude in making the request. We claim here not as a matter of favour to a few individuals, but we stand on a higher principle. Rightly or wrongly, Government introduced the principle preventing them from enjoying the rightful promotions to which they were entitled, but subsequently they removed that restriction, and when they have removed this restriction these people are entitled to be promoted. But in the meanwhile, some others have occupied their position and so without disturbing any arrangements already made, these people may be given due promotion which they would have got but for the obstruction created which has been removed subsequently, and therefore not as a matter of favour, but as a matter of justice, it is a claim that the Government should take into consideration."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur T. RANGA ACHARIYAR :—"May I add one word in support on this resolution. Nowadays we are on the eve of an era of dispensing with examinations even for recruiting for the Civil Service. I do not see why the non-passing of an examination should stand in the way of these people getting their suitable promotions."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR :—"Your Excellency, I see there is some misapprehension in the minds at any rate of the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju and the Hon'ble Mr. Ranga Achariyar in regard to this question. I think the Hon'ble Mr. Suryanarayana Rao has given the history of the question rightly. It is briefly this: From the year 1907 to 1918 we had a rule restricting promotion to the first two grades of sub-registrars to those who had passed the Civil Judicial test and the Account test. That was the state of

affairs for a period of eleven years. The Honourable Member asked us why while those two tests were necessary only for district registrars we made it a rule to enforce them for the two top grades of sub-registrars. We did so because, the sub-registrars at the top grades would become district registrars, because district registrars had to be chosen from the top sub-registrars. The Government in the year 1907 came to the conclusion that they could not find suitable men in the first two grades of sub-registrars who passed these two tests and were eligible for promotion and they said that they must make it a rule that those people who go to the two top grades of sub-registrars should have passed this test. In 1917 they relaxed the rule and said : for every alternate case, for every alternate vacancy, we will insist upon those persons passing the test, the idea being in that way to secure a sufficient number of men for promotion to higher ranks, such as were needed for appointment as district registrars. This question remained like that until 1918 when the Government considered the whole question and came to the conclusion that not only in this department, but in a number of other departments we had overdone examinations. We relaxed the examination restrictions then to a considerable extent. In the Registration department we first said that so far as sub-registrars were concerned, we were not anxious that they should pass any test in the two top grades, and later on we abolished that qualification for district registrars. By that time, a number of men had been appointed according to the old rules and they had taken up certain places. What the resolution proposes, which the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju puts on the claim of justice, is because in 1918 you have come to the conclusion that these examination qualifications are not necessary you had better assume that you had come to that conclusion eleven years earlier and rearrange all these people and give them the places which they would have occupied if the rules were different. That is the proposal which the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju has particularly singled out and put on the ground of reason. In other words, you want to rearrange the whole grade of the department retrospectively over a period of eleven years with reference to an order passed in the year 1918. It is against all principles governing gradation. We can never work it. When you do it, suppose afterwards we alter some rule, we will have to rearrange the whole thing. So that there is absolutely no finality. In regard to public service, you can never work things retrospectively in the form in which this resolution proposes. Many of these sub-registrars who did not pass the test and could not get to the top grade of sub-registrars sent up memorials. When we removed the restriction for first- and second- grade sub-registrars and later on they found that we removed the restriction for district registrars,—when we cancelled this restriction in 1918,—it did not mean that what we did eleven years ago in 1907 was all wrong and therefore we should go and rearrange the gradation of sub-registrars. A number of sub-registrars memorialized and we referred the memorials to the Inspector-General of Registration, who said very properly, it is a well-known principle that the rank of an officer is determined upon the date on which he is permanently promoted to that grade and the claims of the officer to promotion depend upon the claims of the officer on the day on which the appointment is made. It is quite out of the question for me now to commit the Government to rearrange the two grades of an important department and supersede the arrangements which took place during a period of eleven years. I cannot accept the resolution in that form. At the same time, I am quite prepared to believe that a certain number of old officers did not get to the top grades for reasons which constitute a hardship. I do not say that they have a right to complain. They were rightly passed over at the time. But I am anxious as far as possible that those who have slipped down the ladder owing to circumstances beyond their control, their individual cases should be examined, and I shall see if any consideration could be shown to individual cases. If there are any deserving men who could go up and who have been blocked on account of that rule, I am prepared to examine their cases ; but beyond that I am not prepared to go. If the Honourable Member gives me the list that he has got, I shall verify it in the office before I go further with the question."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR :—" Your Excellency, I have only one inquiry to make. As a reference was made to the justice of the claim, may I know if at the time they were entertained, this rule existed ? "

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR :—" Probably not. But with regard to all departments it is understood that the members of that department are subject to such rules as the Government may from time to time make in regard to their qualifications."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" I have only one word to say. Since the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar has asked me for the list, here is the list containing the names of nineteen persons."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR :—" We will have their cases examined."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" When I plead for these poor sub-registrars, it does not matter whether I plead on the ground of clemency or on the ground of justice. The question is whether they were rightly superseded when this question of qualification was attached only to district registrars. There was no such restriction as regards sub-registrars and yet they were superseded. All the same they deserve some concession at the hands of the Government before they actually retire. I see that two or three of them were born in 1863 or 1864 and so they will retire within a very few months. All the same they must have some concession shown to them."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR:—"If they retire, there is nothing more to be done"

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"I understand that the Honourable Member withdraws the resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"Yes, after the assurance given by the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"This is a tremendous principle which if it is going to apply generally would produce chaos. We abolished the Précis-writing test last year. There are hundreds of tahsildars and others. If you put them back into the places where they should be if this test had been abolished long ago, it would create a considerable amount of confusion.

With the permission of His Excellency the President, the resolution was withdrawn.

RESOLUTION *RE* ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMERCIAL MUSEUM IN MADRAS.

The Hon'ble YAQUB HASAN SAHIB Bahadur:—"Your Excellency, the resolution that I have the honour to move runs thus:—

'XXX. This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that early steps be taken to establish a commercial museum in the City of Madras like the one in Calcutta.'

"If I had used the words 'industrial museum' perhaps it would have conveyed the meaning much better than the words 'commercial museum,' but I have adopted this nomenclature because the museum at Calcutta is called a commercial museum. I would describe what that museum is. It is a Government institution in charge of a Government official with a suitable staff to assist him. There manufactured articles, articles manufactured throughout India, are displayed. They are not confined to fine art articles, but useful manufactured articles. They are arranged in different almirahs, and manufactures of one sort are arranged together, so that you can compare the articles manufactured in one province with those manufactured in other provinces and in the same way those manufactured in one district of the province may be compared with those of other districts. At the same time you have the names of the manufacturers written by the side of the goods and you can compare the articles of one manufacturer with those of another. These things are catalogued and they are printed annually and wholesale prices are also given in the catalogues. This is in practice a standing exhibition. I need not say much about the usefulness of exhibitions. The commercial museum is more useful than the exhibitions which are held periodically. There is more of tamasha in the exhibitions held periodically than of usefulness. Many people go to the exhibitions more to enjoy themselves as sight-seers for amusement than for any special benefit. There are many exhibits kept there and the impressions that one forms through a hurried visit are not of a permanent character, and one does not get as much benefit from a visit to such exhibitions as one would like. But a museum is a standing exhibition. The goods are there, the merchants visit it and they study the things at their leisure and they know where such articles are manufactured, who are the manufacturers and what are the terms on which these goods can be had. In western countries, what is known as finding a market for the articles is done on a very scientific basis. There are advertisements, there are special magazines and trade reviews and then there are travellers who are engaged to go round the world with samples, and samples are also sent by post. I remember some time before the war there was a scheme in America of chartering a steamer sending all the American manufactured goods throughout the world just to introduce them into foreign markets. So many devices are adopted by European manufacturers to find markets for their goods. Here in India we are in a primitive stage. Our manufacturers manufacture things firstly on a very small scale and then the manufacturer has to advertise, he has to find a market for his goods and he has very few agencies through which his goods can be placed on the market. So in India it is very necessary that some agency should be created which will be a medium between the buyer and the producer and this museum serves a very useful purpose in that way. I have visited more than once the Calcutta museum, I have gone thoroughly through the exhibits there and I have personally derived much advantage by my visit. Some things that I wanted to know all about, I could not know through other means, but I got that information at that museum I am sure if such a museum is started here, there will be a great impetus given to the industries of the country. Any merchant who wants to have certain articles who does not know where to go and from whom to get it, has to find it from the directories of industrial goods, but the directories themselves are not very complete. Then he has to know the addresses of a dozen people and he has to correspond and get samples from these people, and after all he may find that it is more troublesome to get the Indian goods than to get the foreign goods. So many travellers come over with their samples from foreign countries. They go to the merchant and show their wares to the merchants and press them and get them purchased; and ordinary people can easily purchase them from merchants. There are so many facilities for purchasing foreign goods which do not exist for the purchase of Indian goods. I need not elaborate the

point because it is obvious that a museum like the one that I propose will be very useful here. Because there is one in Calcutta, Government need not hesitate to accept my suggestion. If there was no museum in India, and mine was the first suggestion, Government may take refuge under several considerations, but this is not one of those things.

"Three years ago the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar put a question in this very Council, and the answer was given by Sir Harold Stuart that Government were considering this question. This question is under the consideration of the Government Such answers are given, but the thing is simply shelved. If it was seriously under the consideration of the Government, I am sure it would have come into existence by this time. I brought this forward at the last meeting and the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar said that he would get information from Calcutta. If it was kept under the consideration of Government for the last three years, he would never give that answer and he would not have thought of getting the information at this late hour from Calcutta."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR :—" Can the Honourable Member give me the reference to the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar's interpellation ?"

The Hon'ble YAQUB HASAN SAHIB Bahadur :—" 23rd November 1915. Sir Harold Stuart said the question of the establishment of a museum was under the consideration of the Government. That was the answer. Now that industrial matters are very much under discussion and the Government also are prepared to give much attention to industrial matters, and much attention will be given to industrial questions in the future, this would be a very good beginning if my resolution is accepted and a commerical museum is brought into existence. I would suggest that Georgetown would be the best place for it, because it is the centre of trade and commerce. If it is located there, merchants will visit it, but if it is placed somewhere else in an inconvenient corner, it would not serve a useful purpose. I may mention that the Victoria Technical Institute is also a sort of museum, but the difference between the museum that I suggest and the Victoria Technical Institute is this: It is fancy articles, articles of an artistic nature that are exhibited in the Victoria Technical Institute and they are also sold there. It is not that what I want; I want articles of every day use, manufactured articles to be exhibited in this museum that I suggest and not to be sold. I do not want it to be a selling agency. I do not want Government to undertake that business. The Superintendent should collect all the articles manufactured in India, catalogue them and arrange them and make an exhibition of them for the purpose of advertisement as suggested. Produce need not be kept there. It is an industrial museum that I want to be started."

The Hon'ble Sir GORDON FRASER :—" Your Excellency, I have pleasure in seconding the resolution proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan. In my opinion the institution of these commercial museums would meet a long-felt want. They ought to be in the first place sources of considerable interest to the general public and also, what is more important and valuable, an aid to the commercial and industrial community. One handicap to their introduction is the fact that a museum in one particular place is more likely to benefit outside places as the idea would be to have exhibits sent from various parts of India and these would be more to the benefit of the seller from outside than to the benefit of the buyer in the particular city. It would be to the mutual benefit of the buyer and the seller, but it would be primarily to the benefit of the outsider, and in a second degree to the benefit of the buyer in the city. This handicap would in the long run right itself if the principal cities throughout India followed the lead of Calcutta and had their commercial and industrial museums. One usefulness would be that specimen exhibits of the various classes of produce of the country might be shown and also comparisons drawn for people to see. Produce is unfortunately too often shipped from this country heavily adulterated and specimen samples might be shown of produce as it ought to be shipped. Special attention might be paid to exhibits of timber and minerals for economic purposes. I am quite aware that the Government museum in Madras has a very fine exhibition of both timber and minerals but I think that exhibition is classified more from a scientific and academic point of view than from the purely commercial or economic point of view. When we had the recent exhibitions in Madras initiated by and held under the patronage of Lord Pentland, I think the exhibits there opened the eyes of very many people to the resources, commercial and industrial, of this country. I remember Sir Bernard Hunter in proposing a vote of thanks to Lord Pentland, mentioned that he personally had been extremely surprised at the large variety and the excellence of a great many exhibits shown at the exhibition. I know I personally shared that surprise as well. What we want is not periodical exhibitions such as those, but something of a more permanent nature. Of course on a very much restricted scale, something of a permanent nature that commercial men and those interested in industries can refer to and study as explained to the Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan. The resolution reads :

'This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that early steps be taken to establish a commercial museum in the City of Madras like the one in Calcutta.'

" I quite recognize that it is a very large question and it cannot very well be settled in a debate such as the present. But I think my Honourable Friend would be quite satisfied if Government promise to give early and favourable consideration to the matter. I think we are all agreed that a museum such as the one proposed is very desirable. I do not think that the cost

would be very heavy. I think the benefits resulting would fully justify the Government in incurring whatever cost may be necessary. I have therefore great pleasure in seconding this resolution."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR :—" Your Excellency, the Council may remember that this was on the agenda for the last meeting, and it could not be moved, as I then told the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan that we were writing to Calcutta for full information in regard to the constitution and work of the museum there. I regret that we have not yet received that information, but I have allowed the matter to be discussed now instead of asking it to be postponed for the reason that this discussion will be of use to us when the information comes, in determining what we shall do in Madras regarding it, and I promise to consider the matter most carefully and give full and due weight to what has been said in the debate now. I should very much like to wait for the information which we have asked for.

"In regard to the other point mentioned by the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan it is true that there was an interpellation about it. I find that in September the President of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, of which the Honourable Member is a member, was told that the Government had the question of the establishment of an industrial and commercial museum under consideration but at that time were unable to take any steps in that direction. That was in September 1915. I am merely mentioning it to show that the question was not shelved. This was apparently one of those things which had to be put off on account of the war like several other things. Now all that is over and we shall take the question on hand as soon as the information asked for comes from Calcutta and I shall give the question my most careful consideration. I hope that will be considered satisfactory and this will not be pressed to a division just now."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur T. RANGA ACHARIYAR :—" As one closely associated with the management of the Victoria Technical Institute for many years, I may mention that that institute serving as a museum for artistic production has done a great deal of good to the Presidency in reviving arts in several districts in the Presidency. People who knew to make these things were dying, and we were able to revive many families who would have gone out of memory. I may mention as regards the Calcutta museum, they applied to us for exhibits from our institute and we have sent them exhibits and they were exhibited there in the Calcutta museum. That was some time last year. We sent them large consignments for being exhibited so that it will be an immense good both on the industrial side and on the commercial side and I think Government should put more speed in this matter and not leave it like this. I beg Government to put on speed in such matters."

The Hon'ble YAQUB HASAN SAHIB Bahadur :—" Your Excellency, after the reception my resolution has met at the hands of the Honourable Member for Government, I do not wish to press it. I only appeal to him that this question will be constantly kept before him and if information does not come from Calcutta, he will send a reminder and see that something is done towards this matter at an early date. I have advisedly put the words ' at an early date ' because Government have often complained that we want things to be done in a specified time and that they are not able to do so. I have left everything to Government and I hope ' at an early date ' will not be interpreted to mean an unduly long period. If this is constantly kept before the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar and is established at least before his time is over, he will have earned the thanks of the commercial and industrial communities. I hope he would not wait for another resolution to be brought here. I withdraw my resolution."

With the permission of His Excellency the President, the resolution was withdrawn.

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" That is the last resolution on paper and now remains the discussion of the budget under rule 31. I think it will be to the convenience of the Council to adjourn now and take up the discussion of the budget on Monday morning at 11 a.m. The usual time limit to speeches will be applied. As has been always the custom, it is open to any Honourable Member who wishes to shorten the proceedings to send in speeches to the Secretary to Government."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—" As regards the time allotted for a speech, we talked it over at lunch. We discovered that some non-official gentlemen will not be present on Monday and so we desire that 20 minutes may be fixed as the outside limit. It is not everybody that will take 20 minutes, it is only a handful, but that may be regarded as the outside limit."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" I shall have to consider that on Monday when I see how many Honourable Members come "

The Council then adjourned till 11 a.m. on Monday, the 7th April 1919.

H. G. STOKES,
Acting Secretary to Govt., L. & M. (Legislative) Dept.

Proceedings of an Adjourned Meeting of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations under the provisions of the Act of Parliament, 5 & 6 Geo. V, Ch. 61.

The Council re-assembled at the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at 11 a.m. on Monday, the 7th day of April 1919.

PRESENT:

His Excellency the Hon'ble Sir ALEXANDER CARDEW, K.C.S.I., Acting Governor of Madras—*Presiding.*
The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR Avargal, C.I.E.
The Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON, C.S.I.
The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER.
The Hon'ble MUHAMMAD AZIZ-UD-DIN HUSAIN SAHIB Bahadur, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., I.S.O., O.B.E.
The Hon'ble Mr. L. E. BUCKLEY, C.S.I.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. Y. G. CAMPBELL, C.I.E.
The Hon'ble Mr. L. T. HARRIS.
The Hon'ble Mr. W. J. J. HOWLEY.
The Hon'ble Mr. W. HUTTON.
The Hon'ble Mr. R. LITTLEHAILES.
The Hon'ble Mr. N. E. MARJORIBANKS.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. G. MOSCARDI.
The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur R. RAMACHANDRA RAO Avargal.
The Hon'ble Mr. S. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR (*Advocate-General*).
The Hon'ble Mr. H. G. STOKES, C.I.E.
The Hon'ble Mr. R. B. WOOD
The Hon'ble Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. SURYANARAYANA RAO PANTULU.
The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO PANTULU Garu.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. KRISHNA RAO PANTULU.
The Hon'ble Mr. P. SIVA RAO.
The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR.
The Hon'ble Mr. K. SADASIVA BHAT.
The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR.
The Hon'ble Sri RAJA RAO VENKATA KUMARA MAHIPATI SURYA RAO Bahadur, Raja of Pithāpuram.
The Hon'ble B. RAJA RAJESWARA SETUPATI alias MUTTURAMALINGA SETUPATI Avargal, Raja of Ramnad.
The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU.
The Hon'ble Mr. K. CHIDAMBARANATHA MUDALIYAR.
The Hon'ble Mr. K. KUMARAN RAMAN KAVALAPPARA MUPPIL NAYAR.
The Hon'ble YAQUB HASAN SAHIB Bahadur.
The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur A. T. G. M. AHMAD TAMBI MARAKKAYAR SAHIB Bahadur.
The Hon'ble Sir FAIRLESS BARBER, *Kt.*
The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur K. R. SURYANARAYANAMURTI NAYUDU Garu.

The Council re-assembled at 11 a.m. when the discussion on the Budget was taken up.

THE BUDGET FOR 1919-1920.

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" The business before the Council to-day is the discussion of the budget with reference to rules 30 and 31 of the Financial rules. It is now open to any Honourable Member who has any observations to make to address the Council."

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF PITHAPURAM :—" Your Excellency, most sincerely do I congratulate your Excellency on the manner in which the Budget for the year 1919–1920 is prepared.

" I am glad to find that the provisions made under the heads of Education, Medical Sanitation, Agriculture, Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments are larger than in the previous year. This is a step in the right direction and I hope the Government will increase the allotments in due course.

" One of the most important items is medical relief. While thanking your Excellency's Government for the liberal provision made under this head, I may be allowed to point out that, at present, hospitals meant for women, with lady doctors in charge, are unfortunately very few, and to request the Government to see that as many more hospitals as possible are established. It is hardly necessary for me to say that these hospitals are needed more in this country than in several other countries. I am sure your Excellency's Government and your Excellency in particular will agree with me when I say that there must be one hospital at least in every village.

" I thank the Government for the provision they have made in the budget for the new General Hospital in Cocanada and I hope it will be an accomplished fact ere long.

" It is with great pleasure that I find that progress is being made in the very important work of the investigation of indigenous drugs, and I trust the Government will soon make arrangements for this work being done on a larger scale. The welcome result will be that medicines will be more easily procurable and much more within the reach of the poor than they can at present be.

" Now I come to Education. I am glad that there is a much larger provision than in the last year. It is highly satisfactory that the Government have been paying special attention to primary education. I hope that your Excellency's Government will find it possible to make primary education free before long.

" While acknowledging with thanks the support given by your Excellency's Government to female education, I request that a larger number of schools for girls should be established in the Presidency. In this connexion I may represent to the Government that Cocanada is greatly in need of a high school for girls. At present a number of grown up girls, though willing to receive higher education, hesitate to join the mixed classes in schools and colleges. Of course there are a number of girls reading in the college there at Cocanada, but I am sure many more will be coming forward to receive education if a high school is opened entirely for girls. The existing Government school may be developed into a high school, and as far as possible the teaching staff must consist of ladies. I earnestly request your Excellency's Government to give my proposal an early and sympathetic consideration.

" We are grateful to the Government for having introduced the wholesome system of the periodical medical inspection of students of schools.

" Allow me to thank your Excellency for the sympathetic reply given when my Honourable Friend Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao moved the resolution about the constitution and the functions of the text-book committees. It is but right that a person whose mother tongue is Telugu should be the Chairman of the Telugu Text-Book Committee. Almost all the other members of the committee must be those whose mother tongue is Telugu. If necessary one European member may be allowed to be there so that the committee may have the benefit of the advice of one experienced in western methods.

" Coming to Industries, I am grateful to the Government for what they have been doing in this direction, and I am sure that much more work will be done in the near future. Thereby you will not only be making things cheaper and placing them within the easy reach of the poor, but you will also be finding work for a large number of labourers. When industrial development proceeds, the Government will have to consider the question of child labour with a view to safeguarding their interests.

" I thank the Government for the provision for a school to be opened in Cocanada and I hope that it will be opened soon.

" I am glad to note that the number of liquor shops is being gradually decreased and I hope that they will be further reduced in course of time.

" In connexion with the Madras Municipal Bill, I request the Government to reconsider the question of maximum house-tax and that of allowing women to serve as members of the corporation where I am sure they will be of great help. When there are ladies willing to serve and the Government is satisfied that they will be useful, the Government may nominate them. As the Government have kindly extended to women the right of voting, they may go a step further taking all the necessary precautions.

" The most pressing need now is to relieve the present distress due to high prices caused by the war and failure of crops. As for the methods it is for the Government to decide. We are most grateful to your Excellency's Government and Your Excellency in particular for the great trouble they have been taking in this connexion. Whenever necessary the orders of the

Government of India might be obtained. I request your Excellency's Government to do all that is possible to do to relieve the distress irrespective of cost. If necessary, expenditure in other directions may be postponed.

"Allow me, your Excellency, to say a few words as regards two things which are most dear to my heart, namely, orphanages for the helpless children and asylums for the poor, who find it impossible to earn their livelihood through old age, disease or deformity. I consider it the paramount duty of the Government as the guardians of the weak and helpless to protect them, as they deserve your Excellency's sympathy more than others. Even as a father who is more concerned about his disabled child, the first concern for the Government should be how to help these helpless persons. Orphanages and poor asylums may be established at convenient centres and only such as are absolutely helpless should be admitted into them. I know it would cost a good deal to found and maintain these institutions, but their nature is such that your Excellency's Government cannot very well say that the cost is prohibitive. If at all necessary, some other items of expenditure may even be cut down. Somehow or other funds must be found. As for the manner in which it is to be done the Government is the best Judge. The Government may also use their wholesome influence and may invite the co-operation of the public. I feel certain that response will not be meagre. It is the duty of every one of those whom God in His Mercy has placed in affluent circumstances to come to the help of their poor suffering brethren who also are dear to the All Merciful Father. I hope every wealthy person will recognize his duty. But of course, there may be some who live wholly for themselves caring little for the suffering poor; such cases will, I venture to say, be few. Now, Sir, the state of circumstances has been brought to the notice of Government and they may be pleased to deal with this problem as best they could.

"I next come to the question of the depressed classes. The position of the depressed classes is indeed most pitiable. The Government must come to their help by granting to them on favourable terms house-sites in healthy localities. Greater facilities than they have at present for their education must be afforded them, by providing hostels and allowing them to join all schools and colleges maintained or helped by the Government. They have as much right as anybody else to receive education in these institutions. The way in which these poor people are treated by certain sections of the Hindus is most disgraceful. Let us take for instance the case of the Panchama. In spite of the fact that he is also a human being and the child of God as much as any one else, he is treated worse than a beast. His mere touch is pollution and he cannot enter our houses.

"One curious fact is that he suffers like this, as long as he does not leave the fold of the Hindu religion. The moment he renounces this religion which is or ought to be dear and sacred to us all and becomes a Christian or a Muhammadan, we shake hands with him and receive him in our drawing rooms. By so doing we are indirectly treating with contempt our own religion As long as it continues it will be a standing disgrace to the country and we cannot consistently claim any important political concessions. This sort of treatment must soon come to an end. In this connexion I cannot help observing that but for the sympathy shown by the noble British Government, the lot of these unfortunate people would have been much worse than it is at present. And I offer my most grateful thanks to the Government and the members of the Indian Civil Service, in particular serving in the districts, for their sympathy for these suffering classes of people. It will not be out of place for me to suggest here that preference might be shown to applicants from these depressed classes for pieces of land for cultivation, so that it might be of pecuniary help to them and even raise their status.

"Now, your Excellency, I shall deal with a few points of great interest to the zamindari community which I have the honour to represent. It is a well known fact that the Madras Estates Land Act needs to be amended. It is admitted by some of the highest authorities that some provisions in the Act are not clear and this leads to any amount of litigation. I understand that the courts of law are finding it difficult to interpret several sections of the Act in a consistent manner. In fairness to the zamindars and their tenants, this difficulty must be removed at as early a date as possible. In the practical working of the Act many difficulties have arisen and I am sure the Government are not unaware of them. There are several cases where the zamindars are unnecessarily put to a lot of expense without a corresponding benefit to the tenant. As the Act stands at present, great injustice is being done to the zamindars in various ways. I may be permitted to say that, in some respects, the very object of that piece of legislation has been frustrated. I am sure that the Government are now alive to most of the difficulties and therefore have been kindly considering the question of amending the Act. I most earnestly request the Government to remedy these evils at a very early date.

"Another grievance of ours is in connexion with the control of village officers. We have been finding it very difficult to make them do their legitimate duties in a satisfactory manner. Several of them pay very little attention to the zamindari work saying that they have been attending to Government work, with the result that the interests of the estates suffer. This is in spite of the fact that they are bound to serve the zamindar also as the latter have been contributing to their salaries. There are several instances where we had to go to the District Collectors for redress We are finding it difficult to deal with the subordinate officers and mostly redress is to be got at the hands of District Collectors. If this is the situation now, I am afraid things will get worse if greater powers are given to any officer in the district other than the District Collector. It is therefore highly desirable that much larger powers should be given to the zamindars and the only appellate authority should be the District Collector. I am sure that this will facilitate matters, safeguarding at the same time the interests of all concerned.

"On behalf of my community I sincerely thank your Excellency for having declared the zamindaris of Vyyur and Doddapanayakanur as impartible estates and I sincerely hope that further applications that may be made for a similar declaration by my brother zamindars will receive the same considerate treatment at the hands of your Excellency's Government.

"In the interests of the country and the Government I consider it highly desirable that as many estates as possible should be kept in tact. The support tendered by the zamindars to the Government in various ways at the time of the war and the large number of charitable institutions that owe their existence to my community are enough to support my statement.

"I also thank your Excellency for the Rajkumar College into which also boys other than the wards of court will be admitted at a lower rate of expenditure than at Newington. I am sure that this institution where the boys are to receive excellent training which will stand them in good stead in their lives afterwards, will greatly benefit the zamindars and the country through them.

"My most earnest request is that your Excellency's Government will not ignore this loyal community and will do all that lies in their power to safeguard and promote its interests."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—" Your Excellency, I rise with diffidence to offer my observations on the financial side of the administration when the finance member who prepared the budget holds the reins of the Government, but I am confident the discussion will be profitable as your Excellency being a financial expert will dispel our doubts and set right any real defects noticed.

"As the State in India holds several fields of activity, which deeply concern the welfare of the subjects, great interest will be evinced by the people to secure financial reforms both in the manner of obtaining wealth and the mode of disposition. It cannot be denied that there are several financial problems whose propriety and correct principles underlying it are in doubt, in the matter of imposing and shifting the burden of taxation, the incidence of taxation and the real effect on the economic condition of the people ; we must scrutinize the budget proposals as the State unlike private individuals should regulate its income by the wants of the State but not limit the wants by the income.

"Sister provinces often speak of our province as benighted and whether that appellation is justified or no, I leave it to the Council to decide, but in financial matters I am afraid Madras cannot boast of its lead. As it is not permissible to us to enter upon criticism of Imperial finance or heads not open to discussion I shall confine myself in pointing out that Madras has been suffering most by contributing an unequal proportion to the cost of the central Government and we are told that the Madras Government through her official representatives, fighting hard in our interests to lighten our burden of contribution and our own representatives made the facts bare of the real injustice which our province is labouring under and in the reform proposals of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy they admitted the existing inequality and hence we should incessantly urge on the attentions of the Central Government to place our Presidency on an equal footing with the other provinces especially as our province is more heavily taxed than any other and our people are comparatively poor, commerce and industry are in a backward condition and efficient banking system to meet the wants of the people is absent. We have every right to claim just and liberal treatment at the hands of higher authorities, as we want fair field and no favour.

'The budget amount of land revenue here is 717 lakhs against 689 of last year, 703 of the previous year. There has been an increase of land revenue item, year after year In 1902 it is 5 crores and odd now it is over 7 crores. The extension of cultivation or increased irrigation facilities did not keep pace with the increase of revenue. Incidence of land taxation is higher in our Presidency than in any other province, or other civilized countries. In other countries the land taxes have lost the character of rent payments and acquired the feature of pure taxes. Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State for India well said long ago that the Indian Civil Service should understand that land assessment in India is not rent but a tax though signs are not wanting on the part of Government to go back upon that well-recognized principle. The shibboleth of middle ages that the monarch had the proprietary right in the soil is out of date now. Otherwise the State can obtain competitive rent and I am sure there would be an increase of land revenue by 50 per cent. Fortunately once our Government acknowledged the proprietorship of the pattadar in the land and I hope no belittling of that would be attempted by any Provincial Government Periodical settlements and consequent increase of revenue on old holdings requires modification so as to consider the desirability, justice and equity of taxing land more than the other properties or incomes to meet the common burden. Even applying the principle either of benefit theory, taxation in proportion to the benefit received, or of faculty theory, taxation in proportion to the ability of the taxpayer, or combination of both, the present high rates cannot be justified on the sole ground that it yields considerable revenue and have been long in use. It is not even expedient in the case of persons of small holdings. Though our budget estimate book leaves it blank about the estimated cost of collecting the land revenue and though strong objection has been taken by the finance minister last year for my complaint of high percentage. I am emboldened to repeat it on the strength of the Government of India budget statement that in the whole of India it is 17·642 per cent whereas I find in Madras the charges are more than 20 per cent while the charges in other provinces are far less, ranging from 12 per cent in Burma, 15 per cent in the United Provinces, 16 per cent in Bombay and 19 per cent in the Punjab and Bengal. May we not reasonably ask for the economies to be effected in this direction. I notice that in the matter of divided heads of expenditure, owing to the check of the India Government the increase of cost is less than those heads of expenditure where the Provincial

Government has free head. We naturally complain of lavish expenditure on non-productive objects. The Government of India in their memoranda of 50 years of British rule stated that the periodical settlements of land revenue used to occupy from 4 to 10 years in each district and to cost Rs. 400 per square mile, while they involved considerable harassment to the people but now by reason of care, etc., the resettlement of a district occupies 1 to 3 years and costs Rs. 100 per square mile.

"According to the Government of India, resettlement costs only $\frac{1}{4}$ of the cost of original settlement but in Madras it is sometimes more than the original. It requires scrutiny and clear explanation as the United Provinces spends 5 lakhs and odd for survey and settlement while we spend over 13 lakhs whereas land revenue of both is over 6 crores and the United Provinces realizing more than ours.

"In the matter of stamp revenue with which we have nothing to do, I may be permitted to point out to this Government that under the head of fines and penalties 80,000 are budgeted in Madras whereas according to the Indian budget of 1918–19 which is available and not of 1919–20, Rs. 30,000 only are raised in Bombay, Rs. 40,000 in Bengal, Rs. 22,000 in the United Provinces, Rs. 42,000 in the Punjab, Rs. 11,500 in Burma, Rs. 12,000 in Bihar and Rs. 16,000 in the Central Provinces (1918–19 civil budget) though the complaint holds good even on the present date, I shall be glad to know why we are realizing more than double or treble of the other Presidencies. These are fines and penalties imposed by judical officers and revenue officers. I do not know whether any different principle is adopted in this Presidency. It requires to be looked into.

"*Excise.*—It is a melancholy tale unheeded and unrequited in spite of stong professions of sympathy. Let us face the figures. Excise revenue of Madras is 4,58,17,000 against $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Bombay, 160 lakhs of Bengal, 151 of the United Provinces, 91 of the Punjab, 94 of Burma, 121 of Bihar, 119 of the Central Provinces, and 57 of Assam.

"No other province approaches us in the efficiency of excise administration. The Government rely on the repressive tendency of the high tax on liquors on the consumption, so that the decrease in consumption will be the direct gain to the people in moral and social well being without minding the loss of revenue for such a laudable purpose. But the Government is fully aware that consumption of intoxicants is not liable to material reduction by the present method. I am afraid that the consumption of toddy has been increased. Moreover there is lurking suspicion in the official mind that the increase of excise revenue is pari pasu with the prosperity or increasing wealth of the drinking public. It is a mistake to suppose that it has any bearing. To drown the sorrow and ward off hunger pangs and to remove utter exhaustion due to heavy work and more often due to the evil habit of drink and facilities and opportunities offered by the benign Government by providing them with drinkthough at a high cost, and by saving them from the danger of deprivation of this luxury by non-drinking educated Indian idealists, the drink is indulged in by a large number of people.

"Drink is the cause of ruin of several thousands of families. I need not dilate on the drink evil and its terrible consequences. The country will never prosper unless drink is totally prohibited. It is difficult to expect the Government to forgo 16 crores of revenue, of which more than one-fourth is contributed by Madras. We cannot convince the Britishers of the utter futility of hoping for the decrease of consumption by any other method than by complete closure of liquor shops, following Jesus Christ's admonition that one should take heed of drunkenness. We must remember that 'the sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done.' More than half the earnings of the workmen go to the public house or liquor shop and it is high time that Indians should be warned off the track of sacrificing their health and wealth by inebriation in the 'club and pub.' It is better to notice that more than two crores are raised in our Presidency on account of toddy revenue. The increase from 1917–18 to the budget figure of 1919–20 is about $28\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. In the matter of country spirits there is an increase of 20 lakhs by budgeting the figure at 186 lakhs. These are the two items of about four crores which cost the consumers nearly ten crores and really effect the poorer section of the population. That our Presidency is poor is apparent from the income-tax returns but I am constrained to mention that our Government realizes over Rs. 30,000 on account of penalties while the Bombay Government which gets more than nearly four times of our revenue from income-tax, realizes only 16,000 and so also Bengal which gets three crores but recovers penalties to the extent of only 15,000. Similarly all other provinces realize smaller amount.

"*In the matter of forests.*—Though our revenue is far less than that of Bombay, the United Provinces and Burma, we raise under the head of fines and forfeitures about two lakhs, whereas Bombay gets 12,000, the United Provinces 16,450, Burma 5,000 only, as we notice in the budget of 1918–19.

"In the matter of magisterial fines, Madras takes the lead with 7 lakhs whereas Bombay is satisfied with 5 lakhs, the United Provinces and the Punjab 4 lakhs, Burma $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs though Bengal is trying to follow our unenviable lead.

"I may state generally that the Madras Government mulcts people of much larger amounts under the head of fines, forfeiture and penalties generally than any other province, quite disproportionate to the revenues raised by the respective departments. It may be claimed as an efficient work of the departments while the people regard this procedure as being rigid and unsympathetic. It is curious that the United Provinces spend 20,000 to collect 54 lakhs of income-tax while we collect 85 lakhs by spending over 68,000 rupees.

"In the matter of forests we spend on establishment nearly 18 lakhs to get the revenue of $48\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, while the United Provinces spend 9 and one-third lakhs to get 61 lakhs. I do not go

further into the costliness of our Provincial administration by the comparative method but hope that the Government will take early steps to appoint a committee of experts unconnected with the departments concerned aided by men of the world, to suggest economic management all round, as the experts acting alone (as Lowell states) tend to take disproportionate views, to get more or less out of touch with the common sense of the rest of the world. Retrenchment and economy in expenditure are quite necessary for a poor province like Madras but in the matter of economizing the service heads though the Government might not have done wrong by design but never did right by mistake. Some bold step should be taken to overhaul the whole machinery and organism. We have to judge of its usefulness by the fruits of its labour; the plenty or penury in which people live and contentment and happiness the masses enjoy. Regarding interest charges the Local Government should have insisted on getting interest on their unspent balances or at any rate the Provincial Governments should have been saved of paying interest when the amount advanced to them as loan is less than the Provincial balances in the hands of the Government of India. By the way we may suggest when Canada puts in her claim against Germany for war indemnity why not India do the same as it affords great relief to India through the British Government?

"On education we can congratulate the Government on their spending large amounts. All economists agree that 'no expenditure is more re-productive than that which the State makes for the development of its future citizens.'

"United Kingdom, excepting on technical education, spends proportionately less than the other European countries on education. Mr. Fisher is making head way in that direction. It is non-controversional that the education in the elementary mechanical arts is as important as primary education. Private initiative cannot solely be depended upon for pushing on the secondary education, and if it is to be done efficiently the State should undertake it. I may go further and state that the University education is more reproductive than even the elementary education as superior education is a source of wealth to a nation. Professor Plehn states 'it is quite as important if not more important to have highly trained leaders of public action and thought as it is to have a low degree of intelligence widely disseminated.' The University as a centre for research alone is worth many times what it costs. In proportion to the benefits which it confers on the State it is, where run at the general cost, the least expensive part of the whole system. He significantly adds that fees for public education are gradually falling into disuse. American universities have set the example of free tuition."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—"I hope the Honourable Gentleman has reached nearly the end of his remarks."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"I shall finish in a few minutes. Even in other countries larger part of the cost is met from general taxes and but a small part from fees and he hopes the remaining fees will fall away. But Madras is most unfortunate in the levy of fees from students. We spent about 107 lakhs from public funds, while getting over 54 lakhs from fees and 44 lakhs from other sources, whereas Bombay gets 29 lakhs, the United Provinces 28 lakhs, the Punjab 25 lakhs, Burma 20 lakhs, Behar 22 lakhs, from fees though Bengal is as bad as and even worse than Madras.

"I hope better counsel would prevail and fees would be reduced ere long; though we may not attain the perfection in the near future that education is made free as of old in Bharata Varsha and in which direction other civilized Governments are now winding their steps.

"The matter of police expenditure is a bugbear for all politicians and it is advancing by leaps and bounds, altogether out of proportion either to the needs or the increase of revenue. India should claim the right to frugality now denied her, for we are spending in India about nine crores on police while spending over six crores only on education. The subject has been discussed threadbare and we wait for a better opportunity to curtail the colossal expenditure on police which passes all reasonable bounds. It is a legitimate grievance that there is over taxation coupled with lavish expenditure which denuded India of its savings which should have greatly helped its industrial expansion.

"The Government has declared that the change in the water-rate proposed in G.O. No. 345, dated 18th July 1918 is not a fiscal one but intended to simplify the system and it is intended to be adopted to provide a great relief to the ryot. But we believe that there would be an increase of revenue of ten lakhs or more, adding additional burden on the people. The Government replied to the question No. 32 of August 1918 about the probable increase of revenue, that they had no information and the question was repeated by No. 99 of November 1918. They referred to the previous answer without frankly stating that they had no information and does not care to know. It is inconceivable that the Government should not have taken steps to ascertain the probable amount and I hope the Government would not impose this additional burden as it works great hardship on the people under the guise of simplification of the system. At page 236 of the Budget Notes under the head water-rate on whole inam and zamindari villages the revenue of Rs. 9,13,000 of 1917-18 increased to Rs. 21,93,000 as budget estimate of 1918-19 and reduced to Rs. 9,05,000 in revised estimate and for the current year budget for Rs. 9,14,000 only. If this has any reference to the aforesaid water-rate not to the change in consequence of Urlam decision Government contemplate increase of revenue of 12 lakhs under this head only. If non-insertion of additional revenue in the budget proposals indicates abandonment of this proposal, people feel immensely grateful to your Excellency.

"In the matter of sanitation, rural and urban, and agriculture improvement, co-operation and industrial expansion, larger sums should have been spent during the last three years and better provision should have been made for the current year.

"As the subjects were dealt with recently I do not say anything now except stating that the attitude of this Government has not given much satisfaction and requires change of the angle of vision to confer material benefit on our Presidency.

"The arrangements made by the Government to meet the distressed situation caused by the war, heavy export of food-stuffs, seasonal failure of rains, is most inadequate and even now we have not got the actual census of food-stuffs available in our Presidency so as to induce the Central Government to do something to relieve the situation. The recent food conference with the official majority refused the grouping of the Vizagapatam District with Godavari, Kistna and Guntur and rejected the proposal of removal of inter-district restrictions. No famine-relief measure is undertaken when scarcity rates are prevalent everywhere and no adequate provision even is made in the budget.

"Lastly I would urge that unless the public is taken into confidence and constitutionalism is adopted in the matter of taxation and expenditure the resulting changes in the financial system would be disastrous."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—"Your Excellency, perhaps this is the last meeting of the Legislative Council that at all events many of us hope to see before the introduction of the new system gives rise to a new way of the discussion of the budget. I would begin by congratulating the Government on the acceptance of a matter which may appear to be a slight affair but on which is based according to my reading, the well-being of the country, namely the acceptance by the Government of the resolution on administrative panchayats. I hold very strongly the view that unless the political education of the people is built up from below as well as worked down from above simultaneously progress is not feasible. I therefore welcome the intention of the Government to inaugurate legislation on that basis and I hope the legislation will be on right lines which will give an adequate sense of responsibility and which will evoke that response which, I have no doubt, will come when responsibility is conferred.

"Another matter on which I desire to say something prefatory to the particular remarks on the various heads of the budget, to a few of which I shall confine my remarks, is with reference to the general scarcity of crops prevalent in the province. Famine has not been declared, but it has been pointed out clearly that at present the smallest yield for ten years has been outturned and there has been a decrease both in the yield and in the cultivation. I recognise that a remission of Rs. 26 lakhs has been made, but it seems to me that it is up to the Government to recognise—whether the official declaration of famine is made or not—that the times are such that the most energetic steps should be taken for meeting the scarcity and the difficulties due to a combination of high prices and other causes into which I shall not enter, which are at present exerting evil and adverse influences upon the well-being of the country. I hope the Government will not be deterred by mere formal considerations from entering upon a bold policy with reference to the situation.

"I turn now to the question of University and educational affairs. I notice with gratification that the budget estimate of Rs 2·05 lakhs given in respect of university education includes Rs. 20,000 towards the Tamil lexicon. The question has often been put in this Council and outside it expressing impatience with the slowness of the work on the Tamil lexicon, but I may assure those here and outside that somewhat perfunctory as the labours of the committee were at one time and somewhat hampered as they were by various considerations the work is now well on and well nigh ending, and when it is completed it will prove very valuable as a means of popular education and of establishing the study of the vernaculars on the right scientific lines.

"There is another matter of interest touching the University on which I desire to say something, and that is the provision made of Rs. 1 lakh for a further instalment for the University library buildings. That Rs. 1 lakh completes the promised grant of Rs. 3 lakhs. I am aware of it, but I think the estimate was made in the year 1916 and we are aware how estimates made even last year have to be revised and radically altered having regard to the altered conditions of to-day in the prices of materials. It seems to me that the estimate in respect of the University library buildings will be found to be inadequate and I am only entering a plea here for a generous treatment in that particular case. With reference to the site of the University buildings, I do not know if I am disclosing any particular secret when I say that the original site of the University library buildings has been found insufficient and unsatisfactory. It is too near the Cooum and it is feared that a subsidence of the soil would take place and would largely interfere with the proper building of these buildings. I trust that the Government will bear this in mind and while it is largely a matter for the University to decide yet I am only speaking here on behalf of the University and asking the Government to be liberal in their contribution and not to be particularly strict regarding the allocation of one lakh.

"With reference to the general educational policy, I notice and congratulate the Government upon it, that a large step forward has been taken, and 128 lakhs is budgeted as against 102 lakhs last year. There is no use concealing the fact that many of us feel that the step which has been taken in Bombay ought to have been taken in Madras, that of making it possible for primary education to be extended compulsorily in selected areas at all events. I trust that in the coming year that matter will engage the earnest and strenuous attention of the Government and receive the sympathetic consideration on all hands that it deserves. It is not a controversial subject and it is not my intention to waste the time of the Council by stating a thing which has been restated and accepted times without number.

"There is another matter in connexion with University politics on which I will detain the House for a minute or two. The University recently determined upon a diploma in economics and you will find that at present we are able to meet the cost of the University Professorship out of the normal recurring grants. But I foresee that in future not only the development of the University diploma in economics but a degree in economics will be started and when it is started we will have to come to the Government for help. It seems to me that the inculcation of proper economic theories as part of not only specialised but general liberal education is a primary duty of the University and I trust the Government will recognise the importance, the urgency and paramountcy of it. Last year, I find that my predecessor in this Council emphasised the necessity for drawing a sympathetic distinction between grants-in-aid to aided institutions and grants given to Government institutions. I would repeat that plea and point out that when we find that the expenditure on Government schools which in 1918 and 1919 was 31 lakhs and 40 lakhs is now $46\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, whilst not demurring to that or cavilling at that, I would urge that the claims of aided education are far more paramount than those of a few Government institutions. I notice that in the matter of opening new elementary schools and the strengthening of existing elementary schools a large increase has been made. I would only say that in starting new elementary schools it would not be lost sight of that there is necessity to reorganise the mode of instruction in the schools as much as to increase the number of schools. It has been felt and it has been increasingly demanded that instruction in hygiene and sanitation and instruction in practical matters has to be introduced in these schools if they are to fulfil their purpose. Mere instruction in the three R's for a limited number of years to persons who cannot take adequate advantage of the instruction and who will probably very soon forget what they have learnt when they go to the fields cannot be regarded as a *sine qua non* of education or the end to be kept in view. On the other hand practical training in the things that matter should be part of the ideal programme of study. It seems to me that not only schools managed by the Department of Public Instruction, but all the aided institutions in respect of which its impact can be felt will make this one of the matters to be kept in view.

"In common with the other speakers who have preceded me I congratulate the Government upon the grants, which I consider entirely inadequate, for the investigation of the indigenous drugs. I do not desire to revive the controversy in this house, but a large number of persons feel that in the adequate investigation of the indigenous drugs and in the reorganisation of medicine in this country along scientific lines and not on empirical lines a great deal should be done and I hope the Government would not be deterred by experts, who are apt to be narrow and one-sided, in their final determination on this matter.

"In another department, namely that of co-operative credit, I have few words to say. I notice that there is an increase of two Assistant Registrars and 14 Inspectors. But whatever may be the departures taken in the matter of the personnel of the department, I see—I am not mentioning it in any carping spirit of criticism—I see that for some time past no big departures in the matter of co-operative credit have been taken by the Government. It may perhaps be objected to what I say that this is a matter of imperial concern, it is a matter of imperial policy. Whatever that may be, there is such a large amount of initiative left to the local administration that it ought, I think, to be borne in mind that not only in the relieving of agricultural indebtedness a bolder departure should be made but the inauguration of new industrial plant, cottage industrial plant, ought to be the idea to be kept in view in further departures. In this connexion it seems to me that even to the provincial administration there is a large scope of activity left which they ought not to fail to avail themselves of.

"There is another matter also to which I think attention ought to be paid, and that is the inauguration of what may be called a real industrial policy. I notice, and many of us have noticed with satisfaction, that the Government of Madras have taken very large departures in the matter of introduction of industrial ventures and I have noticed in the budget that such industrial ventures have been started in many parts of the Presidency. But it seems to me that sufficient attention has not been paid to the necessity that there is for enabling persons to be sent out by means of scholarships to be trained in foreign countries where particular industries may be carefully studied on the spot. I am not forgetting that it would not do merely to give scholarships for a person to go and come back and remain helpless and subside into a clerk in the Government Secretariat. I have in my mind a particular person who specialised as a glass expert and who has come back from Japan and become a clerk somewhere. It is not that kind of policy that I advocate. Take for instance the question of the improvement of the sugar industry. It seems to me that it would be a very good thing if scholarships were given to persons to go to Java and Mauritius to study the conditions of the industry there and study how the particular scientific departures are made in those places for the purpose of investigating the industry there. It has been estimated that the introduction of new and better sugarcanes has culminated and resulted in a gain of 20 per cent a year. The bulletin issued by the Chairman of the Sugar Committee, Dr. Barber, pleads for sugar experts and engineers in this line. There is a great field for sending out people to places where scientific methods of manufacture are resorted to in order that they may come back and benefit our country.

"I now come to the subject of sanitation. I desire especially to speak on one or two matters, namely the grant of 1 lakh to the corporation for sanitation and 5 lakhs for drainage and water-supply. I do not find the Honourable Member for the corporation here, but I think as a member of the corporation it is my duty to point out that the Corporation expects and demands from the Government very large and generous support in the programme to which it has been subjected not by its own volition but a programme to which it has been committed by the decision of the Government. It would be frivolous for me to repeat that line of Kipling

in which he says that he nearly built a City drain. It is no use inaugurating that work unless you are determined to put it through. If the Government thought that the sanitary requirements of Madras demanded a bold and generous policy in the matter of increased staff and equipment necessary for putting in hand the new inauguration of the water-supply and drainage systems, it would not do for the Government to say, 'you have taken the responsibility and you must tax yourselves, we shall give this grant and no more'. The prices of materials have increased and the resources at the disposal of the corporation are notoriously low and it is up to the Government, having started the programme, to help the corporation to make the best it can out of the restricted programme to which the corporation has committed itself. I trust that the Government will introduce and inaugurate a much more generous policy than has hitherto characterised their treatment of the Madras Corporation.

"The last matter on which I shall dwell is with reference to a subject which has often come up before this Council, namely the prospects and pay of Judicial officers. In answer to questions 53 and 54 we find that the Government state they cannot make a definite statement on the matter. Surely it is open to us to say that the Government have had enough opportunity to make up their mind. They have sufficient materials to make up their minds and the time has come when the pay and prospects of the very hard worked judiciary ought to be viewed with sympathy and consideration by the Government who, I am sure, are alive to their particular difficulties and I daresay are sympathetically disposed to them. Red tape and routine may save us from mistakes but a large forward policy cannot work on mere red tape and routine.

"In concluding these remarks let me congratulate the Government upon the many large departures that they have taken with reference to the sanitary and educational matters, and let us hope this is only the beginning of a new era in which cordial co-operation will be demanded and got from the people who pay taxes and the people who pay taxes will also be in a position to demand that the taxes paid by them shall be disposed of in the particular ways that they desire."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur K. SURYANARAYANAMURTI NAYUDU :—"Your Excellency, I would like to make a few observations on this occasion. Before doing so I deem it a duty to congratulate the finance member on the budget presented for this year which is progressive in character and indicates the advent of normal conditions.

"The war that convulsed the world for more than four years is happily at an end and this is the first budget after it. It would be wrong to expect a more progressive budget, however much one might wish for it, taking the present conditions and imperial interests into account. As it is, we are thankful to the Government of India for permitting the Local Government to reduce its opening balance by 74 lakhs, thus enabling the Local Government to spend the same for the benefit of our Province. The war had created most acute conditions and it should be the first endeavour of this Government to relieve those conditions as early as possible. There is a great economic distress in the country. The foremost of those conditions is the abnormal rise in prices especially of the necessaries of life. The restoration to normal conditions should be the first endeavour of the Government. I am glad an attempt has already been made to tackle this problem and I hope a systematic course of action based on a sifting economic inquiry into the conditions at present obtaining in the Province will be adopted very soon. I am afraid the large amount of 37 lakhs by way of giving increase of salaries to Government servants below Rs. 50 which I do not object to, is, however, not meeting the situation as there is hardly a section that is not affected by the rise in prices. I quite realise that it is not an easy matter unless the Government of India gives the Provincial Government a free hand to deal with the situation. On the 17th of last month your Excellency's Government convened a conference at which certain resolutions were come to. I hope they will be given effect to immediately. I would even venture to suggest that the State should take up the control of food-stuffs and if necessary sell them at reduced rates to the masses, treating it as a question of relief.

"Next in importance I would place before Your Excellency's Government, is the diffusion of elementary education as broadly as possible. I note with pleasure that 16 lakhs in excess of last year's budget are to be spent on education this year, but I respectfully submit that the expenditure on elementary education is not adequate. In the present state of the country and as introductory to its industrial development the widest possible diffusion of elementary education, if necessary, even to the prejudice of higher education, should be, I think, the proper line for the Government to adopt. Further, new conditions of franchise are coming into existence and an enlightened electorate is a necessity.

"If there is one subject on which there is unanimity of opinion it is the great need to make the country industrially strong and self contained. As the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy have pointed out so often, the war had shown the helplessness of India and her weakness to sufficiently help the mother country owing to her hopeless industrial backwardness. Therefore the only hope for the country lies in the development of industries. The report of the Industries Commission has been published and I hope very soon their recommendations will be put into practice. Last year I suggested that a beginning might be made in advance by attaching mechanical schools to the existing Public Works Department Workshops in different places. I am thankful an attempt has been made to take paid apprentices into the workshops and train them. The mechanical school to be established at Cocanada I hope will come into existence very soon. From the reports in papers it looks as if the Secretary of State for India is not likely to inaugurate the scheme for

industrial development for another year yet to come. It is regrettable that we are thus one year behind other countries which took up the matter soon after the war. I earnestly request Your Excellency's Government to make a start however in advance. For instance I suggest that a few industrial technical schools in different places of the country may be opened as adjuncts to Government schools or colleges. The cost cannot be much and a beginning might be made. The problem of agricultural development is also a pressing need. Last year we have had a bad time of it owing to failure of seasonable rains and the consequent poor crops. The difficulties of transport both by land and water made matters worse. I am glad 20 lakhs have been allotted this year for the improvement and repair of trunk roads. My last year's suggestion for the removal of silt in canals I beg to recommend again. The drains in the Gōdāvari and the Kistna deltas will have to be improved by an allotment covering a period of some years as most of them are in a bad condition to the serious detriment of the crops.

"The Cocanada Port Conservancy Board is in a state of financial embarrassment. This year has been even worse than last year when I brought it to the notice of Your Excellency's Government. The ordinary expenditure of the Board could not be met without having recourse to sell one of its barges although the landing and shipping dues were raised 100 per cent. Cocanada is an important commercial centre and its port is one of the safest on the coast. I think it is not too much if I expect Your Excellency's Government to come to its aid by giving a free grant until at least normal conditions prevail both in trade and sea transport. This is a matter we people in the Gōdāvari district feel strongly about and I hope Your Excellency's Government will give an early and sympathetic consideration.

"I am thankful to Your Excellency's Government for making a provision in the budget for the construction of a building for the hospital in Cocanada and I hope the work will be commenced soon as the present building which Your Excellency has recently seen is not only inadequate but most unsuitable.

"This province has been paying to the India Government a much higher proportion of revenue than any other province. Therefore Your Excellency's Government should try to reduce the amount so that better help can be given to education, sanitation and medical relief in our province."

The Hon'ble Mr. P. SIVA RAO :—" Your Excellency, the dreadful world-war has after all come to an end though we are still suffering from its after-effects. Though actual hostilities have come to an end, the period of demobilisation is certain to entail a very heavy strain on Indian finances—our budget is still a 'caution' or 'economy' budget as it used to be before. Our finances have not yet attained their normal equilibrium. For the first time we have been permitted to draw on our accumulated balances to the extent of about 75 lakhs, one half of which has gone towards the grant of war allowances on a liberal scale to the Government servants drawing Rs. 50 and below. I wish something might be done to give relief to the servants of the local boards. As Your Excellency is aware, most of the local bodies cannot distribute grants of war allowance in the same liberal manner in which the Government have done. I only make this humble suggestion that the Government may make grants to local bodies to enable them to grant relief to the servants in their employ on the lines laid down by the Government.

"The prices have risen beyond all bounds. They are worse than the worst famine prices. We earnestly look to a satisfactory solution of the whole matter as the result of the recent conference. The situation demands most vigilant attention on the part of the Government. Urgent steps should be taken to relieve the distress caused by the prevalance of these high prices and to minimise unemployment wherever it is found to exist.

"By reason of the failure of the last two monsoons, agricultural conditions are not favourable in fourteen districts of the Presidency. We note signs of acute famine in them. Remissions and suspensions sanctioned last year on that account have brought about a fall of about 25 lakhs under the head of land revenue receipts in the revised estimate of the same year. The total land revenue provided for in the last budget (1918-19) is about 708·86 lakhs, while the revised estimate provides only for 678·64 showing a decrease of about 30 lakhs. The figure of 710·47 lakhs inserted in the present budget is based on the assumption that the seasonal conditions will be better during the present year. I for my part cannot foresee any improvement of the present conditions during the current year and I wish the Government had taken less credit under that head.

"The amount of 2 lakhs provided for famine relief is hardly adequate for the purpose. The sum of 8 lakhs meant for the advance of loans to cultivators during the current year is hardly sufficient. Considering all these adverse circumstances, the budget is on the whole satisfactory.

"The Government of India in their letter No. 5084 F., dated 22nd November 1918, regarding the principles on which the budget estimates should be prepared, instructed that additional expenditure may now be reasonably incurred on the following objects : (*a*) the extension of education in directions where it has been specially hampered by war economies ; (*b*) the development of industries ; (*c*) the repair of actual damage which the financial stringency of the last three years has caused to public institutions and services ; (*d*) purposes which though not immediately remunerative will secure an improved and not greately deferred return to the State or the country at large, such as capital outlay on the development of forests, agricultural experiments and the like ; (*e*) expenditure in connexion with the relief of distress and the like in consequence of the present agricultural situation whether in the form of famine relief or advances should be duly provided for. We shall see how far these instructions have been followed in the framing of the present budget.

7TH APRIL 1919.] (*Mr. Siva Rao.*)

"Among the urgent reforms of the country, the expansion of primary education and the development of industries rank the foremost. The total expenditure under the head of education in the budget estimate of 1918-19 was 112·98 lakhs, in the revised estimate for the same year it was Rs. 108 lakhs, in the budget estimate for the current year, it is 1 8·98 lakhs. It is satisfactory to note that there has thus been an increased provision of about 20 lakhs under this head out of which 6 lakhs will be devoted to the expansion of primary education, for the opening of 1,170 new elementary schools, for strengthening the staff of 562 schools and for opening higher standards in 300 existing schools. The allotment, gratifying as it is, does not satisfy the real requirements of the country. The Government of India in their circular No. 750, Home, dated 4th September 1918, propounded a scheme of primary education which had for its object the doubling of the number of pupils in the primary schools in the course of ten years and the cost of which should be borne by the India Government and the Provincial Government and the local bodies in three equal shares. We are not aware in what stage the scheme now is and there is no explanation why it has not been hitherto given effect to. In the same connexion, I wish to impress on the Government the imperative necessity of placing even the secondary education within the easy reach of all and as a step in that direction liberal scholarships and free studentships should be granted to poor but deserving students in the schools. I cannot but regret the recent unfortunate decision of the Government in the matter. I wish that the recommendation of the Educational Conference of 1916 had been carried out in the same matter. I hope that better counsels will prevail even now.

"The next subject of paramount importance to our country is that of industries. The Indian Industries Commission have sent up their report. The Commission found that India is rich in raw materials and in industrial possibilities, but poor in manufacturing accomplishment. They laid down that in future Government must play a very active part in the industrial development of the country. To undertake that part they should be provided with adequate administrative equipment and also armed with reliable scientific and technical advice. They recommended a better exploitation of the forests and fisheries and proposed the introduction of labour-saving machinery. They urged a special survey of the coal situation in India and directed our attention to devising more economic methods of using wood fuel. The Government were enjoined to undertake a thorough hydro-graphic survey in order to determine the places which offer possibilities for the establishment of hydro-electric installations. They also recommended measures designed to improve the efficiency of the Indian artisan and to induce the educated Indian to take part in industrial enterprize. They advocated universal education supplemented by a system of special education, with practical training in the workshops, in the technical and industrial schools dotted all over the country. They also indicated the organization of industrial banks all over the country. They anticipated their proposals would involve a recurring cost of 86 lakhs and an initial capital expenditure of 150 lakhs for the whole of India. The provision made under the head of development of industries in recent years stands as follows :—

	LAKHS.
1915-16..	1·89
1916-17..	2·41
1917-18..	5 67
Revised estimate for 1918-19	8·16
Present budget, 1919 20	12·62

"The only industry to which any attention has hitherto been paid is fisheries and soap. It is hoped that the Government will hereafter pursue a vigorous policy of industrial expansion in this Presidency.

"As regards the capital outlay on the development of forests, the present budget makes no provision whatever. The officer deputed to examine the commercial possibilities of the forests has been discontinued. The question of proposed local extraction of sandalwood oil has not been seriously taken up. The recent triennial meeting of the Forestry Board at Dehra Dun indicates the future policy regarding forests in India. Here is an account of it that appeared in the *Madras Mail* dated the 5th instant. 'The discussion at the meeting discloses that in the immense forests of India there is a wealth untold, a revenue that will always be expanding, when that from the other sources is reaching its limit. It is a source that will have to be worked judiciously but of this, there are sufficient indications in the policy outlined in the same discussion—a policy of education, research, judicious exploitation and prudent commercialism. Judicious exploitation includes the provision of a staff of forest engineers, experts in sylvi-culture and commercial advisors.' The Forest Department will have to be regarded, the *Madras Mail* suggests, as one of the re-productive departments of the Government and the financing of its requirements will have to be undertaken on that basis and not as hitherto on the basis that it is a non-productive department. It is earnestly hoped that the Government will carry out the policy outlined in the same meeting.

"Before I close, I wish to refer to the provision under the head of minor sanitary grants for the present year. The allotment of 7 lakhs made under that head includes one lakh given to the Madras Corporation and also one lakh sanctioned for the improvement of the sanitary condition of the pilgrim centres, leaving a sum of five lakhs for the requirements of the whole of this Presidency, which is grossly inadequate for the purpose. The amounts applied for by the various local bodies in the Presidency amount to about 26 lakhs. I may also draw attention to the grants made for the improvement of the condition of the important roads in the Presidency. A sum of 20 lakhs was distributed to local boards for the said purpose during the last year and six lakhs more are allotted for the current year. There is no reason whatever as to why the local boards alone should have the sole benefit of the grant and why the municipalities which contain a portion of these important roads within their limits should not come in also for a share.

(*Mr. Siva Rao ; Mr. Kavalappara Muppil Nayar.*) [7TH APRIL 1919.

"I may next dwell on the re-organization of the Provincial judicial services and also of the village services. For several years, we have been strenuously pressing the claims of the Provincial judicial department upon the attention of the Government. The Government have promised consideration from time to time. There are the proposals of the Public Services Commission and of Mr. W. W. Phillipps now Mr. Justice Phillipps and the recommendations of the High Court in the same matter. The probationary munsifs hitherto started on Rs. 100; now they start on Rs. 200. Mr. Phillips' scheme has not been published, nor are the proposals of the High Court. The resolutions I sent up to remedy the same matter have been disallowed and the interpellations evaded. The Government have taken up a very unfortunate position in respect of question No. 53 put by the Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao at the present meeting, 'that the Government are not at present in a position to make any statement'. This cannot but lead to the impression that the Judicial department is the least cared for. I hope there may not be any more shilly-shallying with this question and the Government will urgently take up the solution of this important question.

"As regards the re-organization of the village services, the Decentralization Commission stated in paragraph 723 of their report: 'We have had evidence in some provinces as to the present underpayment of the village officers and their resort to corrupt practices and we think this matter should receive the serious attention of the Indian Government.' The village service inam lands have been abolished. They are not entitled to any war allowance or any travelling allowance. The proposed amending Bill to the Hereditary Village Officers Act makes an inroad into the hereditary nature of the office, which is the only attractive feature of the otherwise miserable service. Some solution ought to be found for bettering their prospects.

"The scheme for the improvement of the district headquarter hospitals is to convert these present ill-equipped hospitals into model institutions in the district headquarters. In answer to my queries it was pointed out that the average expenditure during the three years ending with 1916 has been Rs. 2,78,237 and the provision in the present budget is Rs. 4,13,236 pointing to an excess of 1,34,999, and an additional expenditure of about 3 lakhs is provided for the improvement of the present buildings. This will not convert them into model hospitals. None of these hospitals is provided with nurses. The Government will be pleased to set themselves urgently to provide them with the necessary staff, the equipment and the buildings. I also propose that ophthalmic and dental branches may be attached to some of these hospitals.

"Local finance is still as unsatisfactory as ever. Your Excellency as the Finance Member stated in the Revised Financial Statement for 1918-19: 'I cannot say that the system of doles from Provincial to local funds which at present prevails is one which can be regarded with unmixed satisfaction. It fails in the essential requisites of certainty and regularity and there can be little doubt that before long some radical revision of the fiscal system obtaining in this respect must be made'. We are keenly looking for this long-deferred system and it is hoped that in the coming District Municipalities and Local Boards Bills ample provision will be made for augmenting the resources of these bodies.

"Lastly I raise my most emphatic protest against the proposals to make Madras bear a most iniquitous burden towards the contribution to the Government of India under the scheme of reforms indicated in the joint report."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. K. R. KAVALAPPARA MUPPIL NAYAR :—"Your Excellency, I feel I should be failing in my duty if I do not take this opportunity though I propose to say very little on the budget itself, of offering a few of those usual general remarks before this Council dissolves.

"Since this time last year a great change has come over the country by the cessation of hostilities and although we hoped for better days with peace we find our difficulties have in no way been lessened. The prices of foodstuffs and all other necessaries of life have risen and this accounts for very great suffering and my prayer is for still vigorous endeavours of and co-operation between the Government and the people to improve the present situation in as short a time as possible.

"Dealing with Malabar, the Wynaad re-settlement, which I referred to in my last budget speech, is now progressing in a way to affect most vitally the interests of janmis and the population of the taluk. I am sorry the Government have not paid any heed to the representations made by the janmis of that taluk and the Landholders' Association and also by me on behalf of my constituents. The introducti n of re-settlement to that already impoverished tract with enhanced rates of assessment and the increased incidence will tell very hard upon the people. I believe it is still within the powers of Government to save them from impending misery and I hope the Government will once more consider their economic condition carefully.

"I next invite the attention of Government to their answer to my interpellation No. 49 at the meeting on the 6th February 1917. The subject is one of great importance to the janmis as a class, as many of them in the early days and thereafter had made over to Government their janmam land for public purposes generally without receiving compensation on the understanding that such lands will be restored to them when no longer required by Government. The Government promised to inquire into the matter. Later on while admitting the possibility of such cases they declined to accept my suggestion for an inquiry and the preparation and maintenance of a register of them. I request this matter may receive the Government's earliest attention. Another such instance of difficulty for the janmis will be found in the present method of disposal of poramboke lands. Such lands whether acquired or not are sure to have formed the property of the adjoining janmi. I wish the Government will assume a more sympathetic attitude towards them.

7TH APRIL 1919.] *(Mr. Kavalappara Muppil Nayar; Mr. Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar.)*

"Another subject of great importance is the necessity for facilitating canal traffic about which in answer to my interpellation the Government said that they had in contemplation a scheme for deepening a portion of the canal in Ponnani taluk and that estimates from local officers were awaited. I request the Government may be pleased to take up this in the early future.

"Again, janmis have now to pay the cost of the renewal and repair of survey marks as reported by village officers without being able to verify the necessity. The cost charged by the village officers is much more than is wanted if attended to privately. To obviate this unnecessary loss, I interpellated and the Government in reply have referred me to certain notifications on the subject. This does not give the janmi any relief. So long as there are Government officers charged with the looking into this matter I think it is for them to give the necessary notice to janmis. If Government consider that several janmis are jointly responsible for maintenance of stones, I suggest notices may be issued to all of them Lastly I request for an early settlement of the mulgeni question in South Kanara.

"Before I sit down, I congratulate the Finance Member for the budget he has been able to present. Though not exactly a war-budget, I realize at the same time, peace has not yet exactly arrived. If more funds have not been allotted for those various paths of progress of which we are advocates here, that, no doubt, is due to the present exigencies of the Government. On this eve of our present term of office, I have only to request that in deciding the vital questions before the Government the interests of the great and loyal landholding community may not be lost sight of and that such matters as I have brought to the Government's attention during the last few years may receive their early attention."

"The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur A. T. G. M. AHMAD TAMBI MARAKKAYAR SAHIB Bahadur:—"Your Excellency, before proceeding to offer my observations on the budget may I take the liberty of congratulating Your Excellency on your appointment as President of this Council

"The way in which the financial statement has been prepared deserves hearty congratulations.

"I am sorry that compulsory primary education has not yet seen the light of the day in our province. The other provinces took a lead in this respect and we are given to understand that our Government also had a Bill on this subject on the anvil, and it is a surprise that the Government have not thought it fit to introduce the same. It is needless for me at this juncture to enumerate the various drawbacks to which our people are subject by want of compulsory education and I therefore hope that Government will in a short time see their way to get the Bill on this subject introduced.

"While thanking the Government for the interest they have taken in getting Indians trained in navigation at my instance, I request that the Government will be pleased to set apart the required funds for expenditure under that head. It was recently decided at a conference held in the office of the Presidency Port officer that the best way of imparting navigation was by training at sea and for that purpose it was necessary to purchase or charter two sailing vessels for imparting that education and also for utilizing those vessels for coast trade. The proposal may end in profit to Government, but at the same time it is necessary that the Government should set apart sufficient sum of money to meet the present demand that would arise on that score.

"I have repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government to the necessity of developing industrial education and suggested the opening of an industrial school at Negapatam where there is a busy workshop. Though my suggestion met with favourable reception at the hands of the Government, yet I am surprised to see that nothing substantial has been done. The want of funds will perhaps be pleaded as an excuse, but in matters concerning educational expenditure, it is needless for me to point out that Government should not continue to put off an experimental measure like this for any length of time. If, however, Government find that they are unable to finance the scheme fully, the Government can at least empower the District Board of Tanjore which is the richest Board in this Presidency to find funds to finance the scheme.

"My community has been greatly disappointed at the way in which the City Municipal Bill has been passed without sufficient safeguard being provided for the representation of Mussalmans. Now that the District Municipalities Act is likely to be amended, I pray that the desire of my community for separate représentation on local bodies be provided for at the least in the municipalities.

"The public of Nagore and Negapatam are under a deep debt of gratitude to the Government for their recent Press Communiqué in connexion with the report of the Pilgrim Committee, and for the grant of about Rs. 12,000 for the purpose of improving the sanitary situation at Nagore. It is a matter for regret that the Government have not seen thier way to support the proposal of the Pilgrim Committee to make provision to construct choultries for accommodation of the public near the railway station. The Government must have, no doubt, been aware from the reports of the Pilgrim Committee that Nagore is a famous place of pilgrimage to which not only Mussalmans but also Hindus from all parts of India, Ceylon and Burma congregate year after year for the Kandoory festival and at a place where thousands of people are likely to gather year after year, it is needless for me to point out that accommodations of a public nature are absolutely necessary. For want of sufficient accommodation pilgrims land themselves in unhealthy and dirty quarters and congest in fully occupied houses and thus are a

source of constant danger to the public health of the town, and I therefore hope that the Government will, as soon as circumstances allow, make sufficient provision to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee in that respect also.

"It is very unfortunate that the financial circumstances of Government prevent them from giving effect to another recommendation of the Pilgrim Committee, i.e., to make provision for sewage scheme at Negapatam at the earliest possible moment. The want of such sewage scheme at Negapatam and Nagore was brought to the notice of this Council by me on former occasions, but owing to war, the scheme had to be dropped. Now that the war is over I hope the Government will soon take up the idea of equipping Negapatam municipality with proper drainage scheme, the absence of which is badly felt by the people of the town, more especially after the water-works system has been introduced.

"One other important point about which I have been pressing Government for a long time, is the necessity of providing accommodations for the Indian officers of the Government in the mufassal towns. I am sorry my requests have not had the required attention of the Government. Though their brethren at Metropolis are provided with suitable dwellings, the Indian officers of the Government in the mufassal are left to wander through the streets in search of suitable accommodation. My proposal is therefore, that the Government should set apart a sum of money annually for the purpose of erecting buildings to accommodate the Indian officers in the mufassal till the needs of all the important towns are satisfied. During the pressure of the war this suggestion may not have the attention of the Government at all, but when we return to the piping times of peace, I think the Government may see that their servants in the mufassal are comfortably lodged as their brethren in the Metropolis.

"Lastly I would be failing in my duty if I do not say a word or two in connexion with the rise in the prices of food-stuffs and the consequent sufferings of thousands of poor people. In this connexion it is a matter for satisfaction that in many of the important towns the local bodies are trying to minimize the inconvenience as far as possible by buying food-stuffs and selling them to the poor at normal prices. Several of the municipalities are handicapped for want of funds to follow suit, and in such cases, I request Government to finance such bodies, or allow the local bodies to borrow money from the Bank of Madras, to carry on the retail sale of food-stuffs at cost price.

"Finally, if this is the last session of this Council I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to Government on behalf of my community, our sincere gratitude for the good we receive and the benefit we enjoy at their hands, and for the kindness and courtesy invariably shown to the Mussalman representatives in the Council."

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF RAMNAD :—"Your Excellency, the year under review is quite an eventful one; and the one foremost event on which every one may congratulate himself is the termination of the world-wide war. As I said in previous years, the great cause for which Great Britain and her Allies waged war, has triumphed, and we earnestly wish that the labours of the Peace Conference now sitting in France will result in a lasting peace and glory to humanity. We cannot let slip this opportunity without expressing our deep sentiments of loyalty to our august Sovereign who had undergone great personal sacrifices and inconveniences, not to mention the recent domestic bereavement he had sustained during the course of this protracted war. His Majesty's ideal that, 'righteousness exalteth a nation' has alone brought out England and her Allies triumphant in the monstrous struggle that swept over the land for a period of over four years, and that with a well prepared and powerful enemy, whose barbarous and inhuman conduct, History will depict in letters of blood for coming generations to know.

"While the conclusion of the war is a matter for congratulation, other matters, which seriously concern the well-being of the people and which seriously concern us, are indeed very grave. That 6 million people should have died in India of influenza in one year, is not a matter which even an indifferent man can learn without horror and dismay. I shall deal with that question more fully when I examine the provision made for medical relief and sanitation. Then again comes the difficulty of rise in the prices of food-stuffs and other commodities, and this also I will discuss more fully below.

"The closing balance for the year, according to the revised estimate, is 196·09 lakhs. But it is mentioned that the excess expenditure of no less than 75·25 lakhs of rupees over the receipts will be met from balances, which will reduce the closing balance to 120·84 lakhs for 1919-20. This is not very encouraging. But I don't claim to be an expert at figures, and therefore, I don't wish to say more. I leave that to my more experienced colleagues of this Council to point out to the Government how their drafting amount from the closing balance of the previous year, more or less for normal expenditure, is neither desirable nor conducive to progressive administration.

"Excise Revenue is, no doubt, going up by leaps and bounds, and this department seems to be the goose that lays the golden egg. There is a considerable fall in the land revenue for the year by $13\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs, and what is worse is that there should be a fall to the extent of 14·95 lakhs in forest revenue. In a recent issue of *Justice*, we find an interesting article on the development of forest revenue, and I invite the serious attention of the Government to that highly paying source of revenue. In excise, I am afraid, we cannot expect a greater income in coming years. I have not the slightest doubt that sooner or later, we shall be able to reach the utmost limit. It is true, sir, that while the revenue under excise is growing, the consumption of liquor is gradually coming down. Consumption of country spirits and toddy has, from 1913-14, gone down by 100,000 proof gallons and 6,950,000 gallons respectively, while the revenue has increased for the same period by $92\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. One can well appreciate

the endeavour on the part of Government to reduce consumption of liquor as much as possible. But while such an endeavour may satisfy those of the temperance movement, it must be a matter of some concern to a financier when he notices a rapid decrease in the consumption, from a revenue point of view. For the purpose of expenditure you rely on this growing revenue; when the consumption decreases, the revenue also must correspondingly decrease. Therefore, I should personally think that it is a wrong policy to rely on this source of revenue as anything permanent and then to determine the expenditure. Not that I don't appreciate the reduction in the consumption of liquor or the growing revenue under that head; but what I wish to lay stress upon is, that the Government should tap other sources, especially forest revenue, so that they may make good any possible deficit in receipt in the coming years. Here I may urge for a greater attention being given by Government to the sandalwood industry which, I have every reason to believe, is a highly paying concern.

"Under 24-A. Medicine, I regret to observe that only a small addition of ·10 lakh is provided under the revised estimate. As I said above, some 6 millions of people have died of Influenza, and I do not know what the share of this Presidency is in that national disaster. But so far as I understand, there is not a single house which has not been sorely affected by this scourge. And yet, the provision made for medicine is so low. Sanitation in rural parts is highly unsatisfactory; and yet, when the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapathi Raju, only at the last meeting of this Council, moved for the appointment of a central committee for investigating the sanitary needs of villages, the Honourable Member in charge whittled down his proposal as impracticable in his own humorous style, though no assurance of any kind was given as to what the Government proposed to do instead. It is most unfortunate that there should be an unspent balance from Provincial grants made to local boards and municipalities to the tune of 65·10 lakhs. I have no particulars at present to find out which local board or municipality is the delinquent. But whatever that is, the fact remains that such a large amount has been left unspent. Their inaction in this respect seems to be the only possible justification for Government not making more allotment for sanitation. The Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar said only at the last meeting that the appointment of non-official President for district and taluk boards should be made with great caution, as men with requisite qualifications are rarely available. May I ask him whether he was aware of the fact that the official presidents of district and taluk boards, in whose capacity he seems to have extraordinary faith, were or must have been, necessarily responsible for this most unsatisfactory state of rural sanitation, though having under their control a very large share of 25·91 lakhs of the minor sanitary grants yet remaining unspent. This does not really reflect very great credit on the existing presidents of district and taluk boards, whoever they may be. This only negatives the apprehension that these boards must lack efficiency under non-official control. There is a fear, sir, that there is a likelihood of the recrudescence of Influenza for the third time. This is indeed a very grave matter which must engage the serious attention of the Government. The most appalling mortality during its visitation on the last two occasions must be remembered, and every endeavour should be made to arrest its further appearance. From a letter sent to the press by the Health Officer of Calcutta, we find that the entire labour class working in a mill at Calcutta was kept free from the attack of Influenza by being made to take a few drops of cinnamon oil every day during the prevalence of the epidemic. If that is found to be an effective remedy, would it at all be a difficult matter for the Government to introduce similar measures in affected areas? Whatever may be the cost, I submit, such remedial measures must be undertaken as people in districts and villages are really panic-stricken over this impending calamity. It is a matter for congratulation that Lord Pentland, who left our shores only a few days back, had formed a Health Association for the Presidency of Madras and Southern India. Much would depend, sir, on the support that is given to this movement by the Government and by the selection of persons in the mufassal for carrying out its object. A board for each district, and preferably for each taluk, independent of the district and taluk board or municipality, periodically visiting villages, having a programme for sanitary works and carrying them out one after another, giving preference, of course, to the most urgent among them, after getting grants either from the district boards or from the Government for the purpose, can alone, I think, attend to this most urgent need effectively.

"Coming to the present economic distress, opinion is very strongly divided on the necessity for the control of food-stuffs. There is one section of people who think that control has contributed more to the existing distress, while there are others who think that, but for such control, matters would have gone worse. I don't profess for a moment to be able to decide which of them is right. But I appeal to the Government to try their best to remove one apprehension that the control by Government is solely calculated to benefit certain merchants whom they wish to patronize. The control should at no time be considered to be exercised for the benefit of any single individual, but solely for the benefit of the people in general. It is to this aspect of the question that I invite the serious attention of the Government. There is a widespread feeling that the measures taken by Government are totally inadequate to the gravity of the situation. Of course, the Government had recently a conference with the leading merchants and public men regarding the measures to be adopted to alleviate the distress. The composition of the District Emergency Committees is not at all satisfactory. These committees, I believe, are intended to use influence with the merchants and middle-men to sell grains and other commodities at a reasonable price without much profiteering. Imagine a committee appointed for the Ramnad district, which does not consist of men like the Marakkayar of Mandapam, the Zamindar of Devakottai, the Hon'ble Mr. Annamalai Chettiyar, the Zamindar of Palayampatti, the representatives of the Sivaganga Zamindari, the Zamindar of Seithur, other leading members of the

Nattukottai Chetti community and my humble self. Can any useful work be expected from such a committee? I have heard from my friends that in other districts also, the composition of these committees is not at all satisfactory. When the distress was very acute last year, I was able to prevail on the merchants at Ramnad to sell paddy at 9 measures per rupee when nowhere in this Presidency more than 6 measures per rupee could be got. I was also successful in inducing cloth merchants to sell cloths at prices fixed by me. In the case of cloths of inferior texture used largely by the poor class, the price fixed was less than the cost price, and yet the merchants readily agreed to this to avert disturbance; thus very serious looting and disturbance was averted. I had to put special lights at my cost in the bazaar streets to prevent stone-throwing and looting. The Collector of the district knew all about this. You want those who had done some such work to advise you on the present situation. Some among the favoured few, who are selected to serve in each and every committee in season and out of season, and a few merchants, who make enormous profit, can never give the Government any disinterested advice in the matter of meeting the present situation. No conference, which was largely attended by such men, can ever command the confidence of the people. In the adjacent and most flourishing Native State of Mysore, the Government has taken several steps to combat this evil arising out of failure of monsoon or other causes, and I cannot do better than invite the attention of the Government to the very able statement made by the Acting Diwan Mr. A. R. Banerjee, not many days ago in the Mysore Legislative Assembly on the steps taken by that Government in this matter.

"The difficulties experienced by the public in the matter of railway journey, have been brought to the notice of the Government times without number, and though we are fully aware that the demand of the Army Department had really crippled the facilities of the Railway Department to run more trains and provide more waggons for traffic, yet the fact that railway fares have been very considerably increased, makes one feel the two positions irreconcilable. There is a decrease in train service, but there is an increase in the railway fare, and the reason given out is that it was intended to prevent people from travelling. But from statistics, we find that more people had travelled paying this increased fare than when the standard rate was in force. So, in spite of providing waggons and other materials to the Army Department, the railway companies have made enormous profits, while the travelling public have suffered untold miseries. I am aware that the powers of the local Government are somewhat limited; but all the same, I piously hope that they will make necessary representations to the Government of India in the matter.

"Sir, a simple resolution moved on my behalf by my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao, asking for an allotment of Rs. 1,50,000 for granting scholarships to deserving poor students, was negatived in this Council by the official votes, and the remarks of the Director of Public Instruction made then only compels me to observe that both the Government and the head of the Education Department do not seem to be fully aware of the great difficulties that deserving students coming of humble families experience in the matter of prosecuting their studies. However, I wish to raise this question before long, and I am sure of convincing the Government on that occasion,—should I have an occasion of doing so in this Council again—as to the importance of making such a provision for scholarships. The decision of the Madras Government, arrived at with their characteristic originality, not to extend the term of the Council for a year more, while other Governments have decided to do so, calls for the observation that I have just made.

"The additional allotment of 9·6 lakhs made in the Budget Estimate under 19-A. Law and Justice, I see, does not provide for improving the scales of salary of officers of the Judicial Department even within the coming year. The late Hon'ble Mr. Gillman, in replying to a resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Ranga Achariyar, assured him in this Council that the matter would be taken up almost immediately, and he regretted the delay that had inevitably happened in submitting the scheme to the Government of India. If I am not mistaken, it is more than two years since Mr. Gillman regretted the delay. To an interpellation asked by me in this Council last year on the same subject, the Government promised that it would be attended to expeditiously, and we now see that no provision has been made even in this year's budget, for the reorganization of the Judicial Department. The Government have said in unmistakable terms that they highly value the great work done by the service, and that they recognize the necessity to give them increased emoluments; in spite of that feeling and assurance, that nothing should have been done is, I submit, a matter very much to be regretted.

"Coming to Police, I must, along with some of my friends in this Council, complain of increased expenditure. I don't complain of increased expenditure, because so much money is spent, but because it had not in any way increased the efficiency of the service. According to the Budget Estimate for 1919-20, 136·51 lakhs, or nearly 16 lakhs including war allowances over the Revised Estimate of 1918-19 have been provided. Increase of expenditure must contribute to increase of efficiency. The want of it, is manifest from the figures furnished by Government. I showed on a previous occasion how crimes had increased while the percentage of the recovery of properties had systematically fallen. But the late Mr. Gillman on the last occasion said that increase of crime was due more to economic distress, and it did not therefore reflect on the efficiency of the staff. If that is so, may I just endeavour to show how that observation is incorrect? In the Administration Report of the Police of the Madras Presidency for the year 1917, we find, under recoveries of properties a fall from 20·7 to 19·9 per cent; but, for the same period, in Mysore the percentage of recovery of properties is 35·1, while in the State of Pudukkōttai it is 21. I now ask the Government if economic distress did not prevail in these

Native States, and if, as we know, it did exist, why then should the percentage of recovery be greater in the two adjacent Native States than we find in this Presidency of Madras? Under Police Orders, not more than two Superintendents of Police can be Indians. I certainly think that the time has come when the Government must take a forward move in this matter. We have three Indian Collectors and five or six Indian District Judges. It can't be contended for a moment that the position of a District Superintendent of Police carries with it more responsibilities or requires any extraordinary efficiency more than what is required for a Collector or a District Judge. The Government have favourably commented on the distinguished services rendered by Diwan Bahadur Parankusam Nayudu during the looting scare in Madras and by Mr. C. Karunakara Nayar in the recent Kamuthi riots, and yet this order, restricting the Indians to two, still remains unaltered. We know how badly the affairs relating to the Madura trouble were handled and what share the District Superintendent of Police there had in it. The Madras and Kamuthi incidents, compared with that of Madura, lead one to think that efficiency is more an individual quality rather than the preserve of any particular class or community.

"Sir, leaders of public opinion have been for a long time agitating for the discontinuance of recruiting Deputy Tahsildars from the ranks of low-paid clerks. The practice of direct recruitment now adopted by Government is indeed praiseworthy and a move in the right direction. But the recruitment of Deputy Tahsildars, more or less as a substitution for the direct recruitment of Deputy Collectors, is not a system which we can accept with equanimity. There ought to be a direct recruitment of Deputy Collectors as well as direct recruitment of Deputy Tahsildars. One for the other is absolutely unsatisfactory, and I request the Government to kindly consider this suggestion. I submit in this connexion that selection on competition basis must necessarily produce a more satisfactory result.

"It is somewhat gratifying to see that Government is showing greater sympathy in recent times for industrial development. But here again, I should sound a note of warning that Government should do its utmost to remove the apprehension in the minds of the public that there are a few men whom alone they wish to encourage by placing unnecessary limitations in the matter of issuing certificates and granting permits. Whatever step the Government may take towards the development of any industry, it should be for the welfare of the entire masses, and not for the benefit of any particular individual. It is only when such a feeling is created among the people that the Government can really expect the willing co-operation of all the leading men in the Presidency.

"As the term of the Council is coming to a close, I may be permitted to make a few remarks as to our relationship in this Council, with the members of Government. Now that the reforms are on the anvil, I should say that the greatest reform that is most urgently needed is the creation of opportunities for the development of mutual trust and good-will. It is indeed an unseemly sight to see the non-official members in this Council crossing swords with officials like plaintiffs and defendants in Law Courts. As I understand, we are here to bring to the notice of the Government defects which we notice and which may not ordinarily come to their knowledge, in order to get them rectified in the best interests of the administration. We are actuated by no bad motive, and we are not here to criticise the Government. But all the same, there is a fear that our attitude is often-times mistaken, and he who is frank and out-spoken is made to feel that he can enjoy no more the good-will of the Government. It is the removal of this state of feeling that is more urgently needed than any other reform, if the government of this country should be carried on, on smooth and efficient lines. It is true that resolutions brought by non-official members cannot one and all be accepted, for they may in themselves be conflicting. But either to doubt their intentions or to think that they are actuated by considerations other than of public good, or to make them a laughing-stock by humourous attacks, being armed with facts and figures collected by the Secretariat, is not, I submit, a feature which any man of self-respect can, in the long run, stand without considerable uneasiness of mind and despondency. I hope this unpleasant feature of Council life will soon disappear, and the Legislative Councils will serve to establish better understanding and good-will."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"I hope the Honourable Member is at the end of his remarks. He is going beyond the budget, and he has overstepped his time."

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF RAMNAD:—"In the matter of nominations by the Government I beg to invite the attention of the Government to a speech delivered by His Excellency the late Sir John Anderson at the Ceylon Legislative Council, where he referred to the order of the Colonial office deprecating the practice of appointing to the Legislative Council, the same person term after term for securing interests of minorities."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"I really think that is not a matter concerned with the budget. That particular subject does not arise out of the budget discussion."

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF RAMNAD:—"It is the practice of this Council to offer remarks on matters of general public interest on this occasion. I am coming to the end of my remarks. Now that our term of office is coming to a close, I hope Your Excellency will give us some indulgence."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"I am quite aware of it. I am afraid that the Honourable Member has already reached the limit."

The Hon'ble the RAJA OF RAMNAD:—"I have one word more before I resume my seat, and that is to thank the Government for the establishment of the Rajkumar College, solely for the benefit of the zamindars' children. As I have been repeatedly saying in this Council and

(The Raja of Ramnad; Sir Fairless Barber; Mr. Suryanarayana Rao.) [7TH APRIL 1919.

outside, the ultimate success of it will depend on its constitution and on the lines on which it is worked. I again appeal to the Government to take more non-officials,—not only zamindars, but other public men also—in the government of the institution to make it attractive, useful and popular.

"The *Mohini* payments to the religious institutions is a matter on which we have not been able to get any information from the Government. The Hon'ble Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar wanted some information in the Imperial Legislative Council, and the answer given there was that it was a matter which concerned the Provincial Governments. But when myself and the Hon'ble Mr. Annamalai Chettiyar asked questions in this Council, the reply given was that the Government had no information. I leave it to you, sir, to decide whether it is anything fair that we should be given such cut and dry answer. If the information was not available with you, it was available with your Collectors of districts, and if you had only the will to furnish us with the information, there was surely the way.

"I have nothing more to add except to wind up my speech on this occasion with a full hope that the terms of peace will be announced before long, and that His Majesty our august Sovereign will have a glorious and long reign, and that this great country will rejoice at receiving new reforms at an early date, willingly given by a great King who has always the welfare of his Indian subjects at heart."

The Hon'ble Sir FAIRLESS BARBER:—"Your Excellency, I have a few words to say, but will not detain the Council long. During the year I have attended three meetings. I have come to learn that we are not representatives of communities in water-tight compartments, but that we are dependent on each other and that our progress and the advancement of the country cannot be maintained unless we work together. I hope it is not out of place for me to point out on what line it is most important in my opinion that we should work together. It is in improving the condition of the masses.

"A few days ago my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Thonger accused the non-official debaters of frequently putting the cart before the horse. I think this criticism is neither inept nor unjust, but I am not sure he is quite fair in laying the blame entirely on the shoulders of our legal friends, for none of us, not even Your Excellency's Government, can be wholly acquitted of that charge.

"We discuss resolutions, pass them or reject them, for the betterment of the Presidency, but in doing so it seems to me we are choosing or rejecting the colour we shall paint our cart before the horse that is going to draw it has been foaled.

"Looking round we can find squalor and poverty when the conditions that make for poverty do not exist. There is plenty of work for every one, and now no one need go poorly clad or hungry. As an employer of labour I know that often a rise of wages does not mean an increase of work and better living for the labourer. The tendency is the other way, for with a higher wage the labourer works fewer days to earn his food, and beyond that he has no ambition. Public opinion in the matter of taking holidays may have something to do with this. In Malabar I should be surprised if people worked for more than half the days of the year, but I believe there is more in it than this, and that there are physical causes, for this apathy or lethargy, call it what you will, that in many cases characterises the labouring class.

"Your Excellency, the influenza epidemic is fresh in our memories. Under the abnormal conditions caused by the war there was not a hope of giving adequate medical relief to the people, but were we much better off under normal conditions had such a visitation come on us?

"What I would urge, sir, is medical research into the diseases that are known to sap the energy of the people and liberal grants-in-aid to any institution, organizations, or individuals that may arrange for doctors, hospitals and dispensaries to combat these diseases.

"Leaving aside any fallacies that have been so fervently expressed at these meetings, it is safe to assume that neither industrial nor agricultural advancement can come properly unless we have an energetic mass of people anxious to get on. Scientific advice, agricultural research, encouragement of industrial enterprise, are of little use unless the people are healthy and fit to take advantage of them, so it would seem that the first step is to create the requisite energy and then it will not be hard to find how that energy can best be expended."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"We must first express our gratitude to the Government for the amendments introduced in the Financial Rules with the object of affording us a better opportunity this year for discussing the figures of the budget estimates before they have taken such final shape as to render it very difficult to alter them. The budget figures are in themselves a very fascinating and alluring study but they very easily elude the grasp, and we find our way difficult in treading our path through the tangled maze of these bewitching and bewildering figures. Any assistance therefore which gives us a firmer hold on them will be most welcome and greatly appreciated.

"After the stress and pressure of four years' rigid economy necessitated by war conditions, we had hoped that when the first budget would be shaped after the war, the hoarded balances of the past would be utilized in such a way as to provide abundantly for such schemes of material advancement, ensuring the welfare of the people, as have been cherished in the past but which could not be touched owing to the stringency of the financial situation. The expenditure budgeted for this year necessitated a draft upon our balances as the only means of meeting it and it was therefore permitted by the Government of India. We have thus provided for an expenditure of not less than 74 lakhs in excess of the revenue of the year 1919-1920 reducing our balance by about 129·19 lakhs. The grant of war allowances to Government servants on

pay of Rs. 50 and under, thus entails an expenditure of 37 lakhs and 26 lakhs go towards grants to local bodies towards repairs to trunk roads which have been damaged owing to the exceptional traffic brought about by the restrictions on the railway. The above two items are in a way due to war conditions. We regret the necessity which has compelled us to fall back upon our balances for meeting this cost but by no means do we grudge the expenditure itself. We should have been fortunate if the Government of India had taken the above burden on itself and made some suitable grant to us to meet the extra cost but they have only pointed towards our balances to make good the expenditure and we have therefore thus made the first inroad upon them. The third item of expenditure is due to a large additional provision for education, 16 lakhs more than that for the current year. We have to express our immense satisfaction at the provision thus made for education though at the risk of reducing our balances. The Government hopes that with the restoration of peace conditions and with a normal rainfall, the present high prices of the necessaries of life may vanish and the temporary war allowances may then be withdrawn. They also think that the exceptional grants to local bodies are not recurring and could be omitted in future years. But we on this side of the house may be pardoned if we do not share the optimism of the Government in these directions and give expression to our own misgivings in the matter. It does not look as though the high prices of the necessaries of life will so far come down as to facilitate the discontinuance of the war allowances in the near future. Prices, cost of living and expenditure, when once they begin to mount up, they do so without let or hindrance, and exhibit a natural tendency to retain the height which they once attain and except with the aid of extraordinary remedies, they cannot be dislodged from their high level. The present situation in the country brought about by the scarcity of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life and their high prices, is extremely grave and serious and alarming especially in the Vizagapatam district. The forecast is gloomy and the more so, as the people apprehend, from the astronomical forecast of the Hindus for the next six years. It would seem that the more prudent course would have been to curtail our expenditure in other directions so as to make provision for these extra war allowance for some continuous period. We cannot persist in a policy of falling back upon our balances as they very soon exhaust themselves by such continuous pressure upon them by unusual demands. The experience felt by some of the local bodies in this connexion appears to be a sure guide. For instance some of the municipalities, notably Vizagapatam and Vizianagram, the largest in my district, are unable to meet this extra cost of providing war allowance to their employees for want of funds and their situation is very uncomfortable, owing to the clamour of their servants demanding the grant of the allowance which all other employees are getting and their own inability to provide the same. The general economic condition of the people is one of poverty and distress and cost of living has risen to a point beyond which it is impossible to bear. We may have very soon to revise the scales of pay and possibly consolidate these allowances, if we are to afford the ordinary bare necessities of life to these subordinates. Very soon the need for some curtailment of the top heavy expenditure we are incurring may be felt and the rearrangement and readjustment which will then have to be made appears to be far more difficult than at present.

"As regards the grant to local bodies for the repairs of the trunk roads it has already been remarked above, that it would have been far better if this burden was not thrown upon us. But even as it is the distribution of the 20 lakhs has been very uneven. I am however glad that Vizagapatam District Board has been given its due share, and it only remains for the board to utilize the same promptly.

"On the credit side our budget presents this year some interesting features, notably the large increase under the heads of excise and income-tax. It has been claimed that though the conditions warrant a more liberal estimate, the excise revenue has been estimated with caution at the figure noted in the budget. The excise revenue and the history of its enormous growth from year to year in spite of the reduction in the number of shops, restrictions as to their location and heavy taxation, present some of the most difficult problems for solution in the interest of the moral and physical well-being of the people. The figures simply stagger our imagination and baffle our judgment by their mysterious logic. The policy of the Government has been to raise the maximum revenue with the minimum consumption. The consumption remains stationary and even exhibits a tendency towards diminution but the revenue goes up by leaps and bounds. This is accounted for by the benefits received from the high prices of foodstuffs, by the agricultural producers and the wage-earner, who have contributed to the swelling of the excise revenue. This abnormal increase in excise revenue is not unoften taken as indicative of the prosperity of the people, inducing them to revel in this baneful luxury. A little reflection however will show how unfounded such an assumption is and that this morbid growth of excise revenue only points to a diseased moral condition of the people bearing the impress of poverty and misery on its very face. The evil is so deep-rooted, that even the hard earned wages of daily labour are sacrificed at the expense of all legitimate expenditure, for the sake of indulging in this vice. The poverty, misery, and squalor of the ordinary labourers are well known and it is as a refuge from such misery, owing to ignorance and folly, that the labourer takes to drink and finds himself ruined in the end becoming a slave to it. While in advanced countries like the United States of America and some of the Indian States schemes are devised for total prohibition and put in execution, to ensure the moral well-being of the people, we find ourselves utterly helpless to alleviate the condition of our people. The only remedy to minimise the evils as far as possible seems to be to reduce the quantity manufactured and not merely to trust to the good sense of the people and increased taxation to keep consumption at a stationary limit. It looks almost like an inexplicable paradox to say that with

famine, squalor and misery facing the masses, there should be an abnormal increase in this branch of the revenue calculated upon the high prices and high wages earned by them. The phenomenon is curious and can only be explained on the basis of the strong temptation created by the supply to which the ignorant masses easily fall a prey.

"The increase in the income-tax was naturally expected as Act VII of 1918 introduced stricter methods. Nobody grudges now to pay the income-tax but everybody feels the hardship of its administration. It is no doubt irksome to pay taxes however easy one's circumstances are. We very often find touring officers excusing themselves from the payment of their professional taxes in municipalities for they discover when the tax is demanded that they resided only for 59 days within the municipal limits and the discomfited municipality has to write off the amount. The merchant, lawyer and the professional man are compelled to produce their accounts and when produced they are not believed but the confidential report alone in most cases is acted upon by the assessing officers. But how often do the officials themselves pay the tax upon their hoarded savings of the past years? No notice as far as I know is served upon the officials to submit statements, and the tax is deducted out of their salaries alone in the ordinary course. Their savings and balances may escape assessment unless any official chooses to tax himself or through his superior officer. I wish I were mistaken in the above view. The income-tax administration has been felt as sore burden and loud complaints have been made from different quarters. It is needless to recapitulate them here as they are well known. Suffice it to say that there is much to be achieved by way of improvement and the bringing in of enhanced revenues alone should not be deemed to be the test of good administration in this branch.

"Your Excellency passing to the subjects of Education, Sanitation and Medical relief which are ever dear to our hearts, I may be permitted to make a few observations. The treatment that these subjects generally receive at our hands is that of poor relations at the feast. This year the reproach has been removed in so far as Education is concerned and the provision made for Education is liberal. The Government have thus earned the thanks of the people. We have long expected that the Government would take upon themselves the task of mass education as a State duty and introduce free and compulsory elementary education. The efforts so far made have not fructified and the deliberations of the Elementary Education Conference have not been made public and we are yet as far from the goal as before. Other Presidencies have been solving the problem one by one and we are lagging behind. The Government measure promised to be introduced, has not yet seen the light of day. Any attempt to solve the problem by dribblets, would only occasion extra expenditure and cannot produce the desired result. We hope that ere long the Government will see their way to embark upon this long delayed and overdue reform. Another feature of this year's budget is the creation of four new Inspectors' circles and the increase of inspecting staff. An adequate inspecting staff is certainly a necessity but it seems rather cumbersome to have too much inspection. In the natural order of things the responsibility for sound education rests with the teachers and the functions of the inspecting staff should be confined to supervision and co-ordination of educational work among the various institutions. It sometimes happens that individual tastes and theories differ with succeeding officers and the institutions under their command often find themselves embarrassed and unable to adapt themselves to varying methods in rapid succession. It may not therefore be unreasonable to urge that the imparting of education should be left in the hands of competent teachers and as little interfered with as is consistent with the objects of inspection above named. Elementary education is as a rule in the hands of a low-paid and ill-educated class of teachers whose main object in life is, rather to make a living for themselves than being imbued with any high ideals of education. They often supplement their small emoluments by undertaking the duties of the Village Branch Postmaster and the professional document writer of the village. These preoccupations engage their time and mind considerably, and the educational work of the school becomes a secondary matter with them. This state of things is remedied in part in some places but still I venture to think that the generality of the observations holds good. In the present budget, provision is made for increasing the salaries of the Elementary teachers, but this increment in these hard conditions of life, can go but a little way towards improving their status or attracting a better class of men for the service. May we not hope that with the advancing ideals of education, a large number of institutions may be developed commencing from the lowest stage, imparting education of a high order and laying the foundation for future national progress.

"Another closely allied topic on which I wish to say a few words is the medical inspection of school children. I venture to think that the provision made in the budget is inadequate for this object, but it serves only as a start, as an earnest of the efforts that will be made hereafter in this direction. Time after time, this subject has been pressed upon the attention of the Government but no systematic work could be undertaken on account of various causes. Now that a beginning is going to be made, we hope that the matter will be systematically pursued so as to lead to healthy results in the school life of our children. The Local Boards and Municipalities, I apprehend, are unable to undertake this duty or find funds for the same, considering the limited and slender character of their resources and the numerous calls upon their finances. The Government alone should therefore undertake the duty and bear the cost.

"Another subject which is dear to my heart is the development of industrial education. I have often pressed in this Council the supreme need that exists for making a real and earnest endeavour to impart sound industrial education. The progress made so far has been very slow and not very remarkable considering the needs of the situation or the results achieved. The

7TH APRIL 1919.] *(Mr. Suryanarayana Rao.)*

figures in the latest administration reports show that the total number of pupils receiving technical and industrial education is 5,063 of whom 1,421 were pursuing art education, 534 technical education in Engineering subjects and telegraphy and 1,764 industrial education (including agriculture) and 1,344 commercial education. With prospects of industrial advancement before us, the need for sound industrial education cannot be too often reiterated or too strongly emphasised. Given proper facilities and encouragement, we are sure that the tide of education will turn towards industrial pursuits and there will no longer be any pressure on the learned professions or discontented and disappointed failures in life. The material prosperity of the country will be ensured. After all, in any country, agriculture, industries and trade mark the progress of the nation, and these are the mainstay of the material prosperity of the country. It is only unfortunately in this country, that much valuable time is lost in developing policies and shaping theories which naturally lead to unconscionable delays and utter indecision as to which development should precede the other. We find ourselves ground down under the theories as to our fitness which are formed without trying and proving us. 'Advance and never retrace' should be the watch words of our progress in the future. Unless the work of reconstruction is begun in right earnest, we are sure to find ourselves nowhere in the coming struggle among the nations of the world for industrial and commercial supremacy. India can never remain content with merely producing raw material for feeding the industries of the world. We regretted in the past that the Department of Industries, owing to the pre-occupation of war, the difficulty of importing suitable machinery from abroad, could not adequately undertake its proper work. Now that the war is over, we are entitled to expect some handsome work from the department for the benefit of the country. Coming to a small item, I may be pardoned for referring once more this year to the question of opening a weaving school in the Vizagapatam district. When I moved the resolution on the subject last year, hopes were held out that as soon as the war conditions are over and a suitable expert is obtained, our claims will be duly considered. I reiterate the request now, because the war is over and in expectation of the fulfilment of the hopes held out last year. Hundreds of weaving families from the Vizagapatam and Ganjām districts have migrated to Calcutta and other places in search of work and livelihood and several have been thrown out of employment owing to the difficulty of procuring yarn. The peripatetic weaving party at Ichchāpuram in the Ganjām district has been doing some little useful work but this is hardly sufficient to meet the demands of the situation. We cannot too often urge upon the attention of the Government the need for stimulating indigenous enterprise and capital in starting and working indigenous industries.

"The next subject I wish to touch is *Sanitation.* Of late years the public health has not been very satisfactory and epidemics have been breaking out in too frequent and rapid succession and the situation demands careful study and watchfulness. Of the municipalities only 26 have a protected system of water-supply and the district boards have yet to embark on large schemes of protected water-supply in areas under their charge. There are only a very few municipalities outside the cities who have the services of health officers and in the case of my own municipality I can bear witness to the honest efforts made and the failure to obtain the services of any health officer. Neither the Sanitary Commissioner nor the Principal of the Medical College could recommend any officer and our municipality is compelled for want of such officer to remain without the services of a health officer. We have passed through a period of plague and influenza and smallpox has given us considerable trouble. It may not be out of place to request that every municipality should have its own health officer with qualifications suited to its requirements. The Government are willing to contribute towards the pay of the health officers, but the difficulty is in procuring them. It is also absolutely essential that to look after the moral health and sanitation, there should be a health officer for select districts or groups of districts.

"Lastly I wish to say a few words on the question of medical relief, and I have done. The question of adequate medical relief to the people pushed its attention on the public mind in the recent influenza season. Everywhere the cry was heard that medical relief was wanting and people died by hundreds. The death toll in the world counted by the fell disease is enormous. For a population of nearly 45 millions in the Presidency there are about 707 hospitals and dispensaries working, out of which 510 are maintained by local funds, 80 by private agencies and the rest by Government, railway and other agencies. The inadequacy of the medical relief afforded has been consequently brought to the notice of the Government and repeated prayers have been made to give some encouragement to the ayurvedic and unani systems. The Government have turned a deaf ear to the latter request and no encouragement whatever was given to the indigenous system. We are proud to own however that these systems have done their part well and given succour and relief in the severe influenza epidemic and saved a number of lives which would otherwise have been lost for want of proper medical treatment. The system has stood the test of time and achieved some remarkable results as inquiries will easily show. It is indeed a pity that the Government acting under the advice of the Allopathic doctors should not appraise these systems at their true worth and give them a fair trial and encouragement. A large percentage of the people still have recourse to these systems and the Government cannot afford to belittle their importance or ignore their efficiency and soundness.

"The question of training a sufficient number of qualified practitioners is as important as the affording of relief, for the two are intertwined with one another. At present there is only one College and there are four schools. In the College according to the latest figures 473 pupils are receiving instruction and in the four schools 662 are studying. We know from experience that several applications are rejected for want of suitable accommodation and other causes and the demand for medical education is rapidly increasing. We hope that to meet this increasing pressure, other schools will be opened and one or two of the existing schools will be rai-

the status of a College. The claims of the medical school of Vizagapatam to be raised to the dignity and status of a College have been frequently urged before the Government and the institution has acquitted itself well as its history would show. The need for a College in the northern districts is apparent and Your Excellency at your recent visit to Vizagapatam also gave out hopes that the question would be favourably viewed, and we hope that no time will be lost in raising this institution to a College at the earliest opportunity even before the Vizagapatam harbour is constructed.

"In conclusion, I beg leave to state that though the budget taken as a whole is satisfactory, in parts it is disappointing and we cannot continue increasing our expenditure on the chances of finding revenues from slippery and unstable sources, which would involve hardship on the people. The land revenue is always unstable owing to the fluctuations of the seasons but the resettlements are always bringing in increased revenues. This has been felt to be a great hardship by the large mass of the agricultural population but the same policy is continued by the Government without heed of its deleterious effect on the economic condition of the people. The country is unable to tide over a single year of scarcity and the prosperity and contentment spelled out of the increment in the excise revenue or from other figures can never be real. We therefore earnestly implore the Government not to shut its eyes to the real gravity of the situation but to take adequate notice of the existing economic condition and begin to build its finance on the solid foundation of a sound land revenue policy and gradual but sure agricultural and industrial development guided by the principles of mutual co-operation, confidence and trust.

"Before I sit down I appeal to Your Excellency's Government to make a strong representation to the Imperial Government and see that the settlement of finances between the two Governments is made on an equitable and satisfactory basis and that the recommendations made in the Montague-Chelmsford report are not accepted as they are highly prejudicial to our Presidency and cripple our resources very largely and we are left poor in spite of our large income."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR :—"Your Excellency, we are now at the close of my second period of the Legislative term, as per the singular announcement of this Government. It is therefore proper to take a retrospect of the financial aspects of this Government. We are on the eve of impending reforms and a careful study is needed for our future guidance.

"I made the following statements in my last budget speech. We know that the budget is prepared assuming normal conditions. I said—

'(1) I have no doubt that we have budgeted for much less than we could receive.

(2) We have placed more money under heads which would not consume them ; we spent more monies on other heads, without the Finance Committee or this Council, which has the right to consider these statements, having had previous occasion to judge of the nature of the expenditure.

(3) The Government spent not only at their sweet will and pleasure monies which have been budgeted unnecessarily as shown above, but they also had thought fit to reserve 10 lakhs of rupees under the head Miscellaneous 32-E, for distribution as they pleased.

(4) It is under these circumstances painful to notice that there is every attempt made to prevent the non-official Members exercising the very small powers conferred on them under the existing rules.'

"Your Excellency, we have only to look at the revised budget of receipt and expenditure to see how far these statements have been substantially correct. Under receipts we see that in spite of a fall of 16 lakhs of rupees under the head Land Revenue caused by the abnormal conditions and of 9 lakhs under the head Forest caused by an arrangement entered into after the budget by the Government with the Munitions Board to the great detriment of the interests of this province and a fall of almost 5½ lakhs of rupees under the head Income-tax caused again by a later resolution of the Government of India not to assess people below Rs. 2,000 per annum and of about 22, 69 and 50 thousands of rupees under the heads Interest, Courts of Law and Education respectively, the total budget exceeds the budget for the last year by about 5 lakhs and the closing balance for the year that has just now passed is about 8 lakhs more in the revised estimate in spite of special expenditure on war allowances and through communications, affected by the reduction in the railway traffic, of about 33 lakhs. The arrangement relating to the forest produce referred to above seems patently unsatisfactory as the revenue estimated is too much below those of 1917-18 and 1916-17, which are respectively 54 and 45 lakhs. I am sure that the revised estimate of receipts will, when the actual figures are received, be shown to be an under-estimate.

"Under the head of Expenditure the revised budget shows that after deducting war allowances and contributions towards communications referred to above there has been a budget for 24 lakhs more than was needed mainly under the heads Education, Miscellaneous, in which about 8½ lakhs out of about 14 remains unspent, Irrigation—Major Works—Working expenses, and Civil Works in charge of Public Works officers.

"Thus if normal conditions are assumed, we had budgeted for less to the tune of 52 lakhs and put down money under the Expenditure heads to the extent of about 37 lakhs so that about a crore of rupees has not been estimated properly in the budget. My impression is that persistently this policy is pursued. I must object to this and point out that it is essential that we budget more accurately and keep a reserve of about 50 lakhs as balance over and above the required closing balance to meet contingencies. If we had budgeted properly for receipts, the abnormal increase of receipts under some heads will be balanced by similar loss under others.

"The budget would have been, all the same, not disappointing. If similarly we had put down m[illegible] for expenditure more accurately any small increase in one or other head may be met by

the deficiency in the others. A provision of 13 lakhs under the head Miscellaneous, besides a similar provision for miscellaneous purposes under each head, is sure to mar a budget and this item which has been introduced within the last two or three years must be put an end to as outside the range of budgeting.

"When thus, large surplusses are expected both by increase in receipts and decrease in expenditure steps are taken in the middle of the year to spend them in the way the Government pleases without giving the Council or the Finance Committee an opportunity to consider such supplementary budgeting or the method of distributing the amounts so budgeted. About 33 lakhs have been so spent on war allowances for some departments excluding others, and on communications without duly considering the claims of all the districts. The order that 20 lakhs of money will be given to boards ready to spend within the official year and distribution on that assumption is, to say the least, curions and mischievous, and has not failed to place many district boards at a disadvantage and no amount of subsequent action can rectify the mistake committed. Why not wait to distribute after calling a meeting of the Council or after the February meeting of this year?

"The Executive, it is assumed, is unerring in its acts and the Council is not used as it ought to be under the rules, even in matters of financial distribution, which ought properly to go to the head "Unallotted Expenditure." I submit that the Finance Member must put an end to this state of affairs as early as possible if the province is to be administered efficiently and without mistake.

"I have next to deal with another aspect of the budget, as this aspect becomes highly important in connexion with the reforms that have been proposed and are expected to come into force. The expenditure side of the budget deserves close scrutiny to enable properly to appreciate the needs of each head as this Government has not tried even during the time of the war to distinguish between the essential and the non-essential portions of expenditure under the heads Land Revenue, Forest, Police and Civil Works in charge of Public Works officers and similar other heads while they have limited the expenditure to the lowest possible minimum, under the heads Courts of Law, Education, Medical and Sanitation, Agricultural and Scientific and Miscellaneous departments and Civil Works in charge of Civil officers. My submission is that due regard to the relative necessities of the increase of expenditure under each head has not been given.

"We know that when the provincial Financial Settlement was arrived at in 1910-11, the expenditure of this province was calculated on an average of the previous ten years; that allowance was made for additional expenditure on the Police Department anticipated on the introduction of the schemes recommended by the Police Commission and that a sum of Rs. 7·10 lakhs was allowed for additional district charges proposed to be created and that the final figure inclusive of an extra allowance was put at about 565 lakhs and a contribution of about 18 lakhs was arranged to be made by this Government to the Government of India. The year that was taken to arrive at this settlement was 1908-09 and the income of that year was 582·15 lakhs. We have now according to the revised estimate of 1918-19 an income of about 850 lakhs inclusive of assignments from the Government of India. This gives an increase over that year, of about 268 lakhs giving an average increase of about 26⅘ lakhs per annum.

"The expenditure on the other hand has risen from 561 lakhs in 1908-09 to 854 in 1918-19 giving an increase of about 293 lakhs inclusive of our drawings on our balances. Of this about 42½ lakhs is given by the Imperial Government for specific purposes. Thus we have 28 28 lakhs earmarked for Education and 6·35 lakhs for Sanitation and 7·85 lakhs for new district charges so that practically we have spent about 250 lakhs from our resources. Of this about 42 lakhs more for Education, about 5 lakhs more for the heads Medical and Sanitation over and above the Imperial grant, about 20 lakhs for Agriculture and Scientific and Miscellaneous departments and about three lakhs for Civil Works in charge of Civil officers besides the 20 lakhs recently added towards grants to improve main communications making a total of 70 lakhs were spent on objects of utility to the people. About eight lakhs over and above the e penditure of 1908-09 was spent on Minor Works and Navigation so that a total of 78 lakhs may be accounted for under that head. But a portion of this amount which is not less than 10 lakhs is non-recurring in nature and cannot be treated as allotted to these heads. It is thus to be seen that out of an increased income of 293 lakhs there remains a balance of 173 lakhs which is now being spent under other heads whose full scope of expenditure was settled after a full investigation only in 1910-11, at about 434 lakhs, for we find that the heads referred to above were contributing to the expenditure to the extent of 135 lakhs out of a total of 561 lakhs in 1908-09. This gives an abnormal increase of expenditure under these heads of about 40 per cent while Excise and Stamps whose expenditure is divided equally with the Government of India, show only an increase of about 14 per cent. I have been contending that even during the time of the war the expenditure under these heads has not been kept within bounds and had been permitted to increase to an objectionable extent. It is therefore essential that the expenditure under these heads is carefully scrutinized before it is accepted as necessary for them. Every aspect tends to show that they may be with advantage curtailed. The figures for the other provinces particularly the United Provinces situated almost similar to ours prove the same. In Land Revenue the expenditure has increased in our province by about 35 per cent, while in the United Provinces it has risen only by 14½ per cent. Under the head Police our expenditure has increased by 45 per cent while in the United Provinces it has risen only 25 per cent. These and other questions that can be observed by an examination of the figures will convince one that this Government has been quite partial to some heads of expenditure

"Your Excellency, it is a matter for regret that in our province we have done little or nothing to the provincial service for a very long time. The recent Public Service Commission started to give that service better prospects had finished its report long back. The Imperial Service brought later within its scope have already benefited by it. The Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service and the Police officer, of the Imperial Service have been given better prospects in anticipation. The Indian Civil Service Officers had special concessions shown to them as soon as the war broke out to compensate for restrictions on leave. The number of posts thrown open to that service has by far increased since 1886 and yet the Provincial Service whose interests were meant to be improved by the Commission stagnates in the same position except that one or two special posts conferred on them did not materially affect the number thrown open to them. The present is a very convenient time to better their prospects and add to the listed posts also. It has been conceded times without number that the members of that service are exceptionally capable. It is proper that the Government should immediately take up their case and improve their prospects. The common feeling is that the Imperial Services get what they want both as emoluments from the Government and all kind of intelligent work from the Provincial Service officers, but that the latter are forgotten when it is a question of improvement in prospects. This reproach must be removed. At least a few additional district charges in all possible departments must be immediately thrown open to them. That will act as an incentive to brilliant young men joining that Service.

"The Land Revenue Settlement policy has been radically altered, Your Excellency, during your regimé as Revenue Member. The calculation of costs of cultivation and the consideration of the economic condition of the area settled have been made on haphazard and objectionable basis. However necessary such policy was during the war, I request that Your Excellency may leave definite instructions before you lay down the reins of your office that the more sympathetic old method may prevail and that the tendency of the Government even against the reports of the officers investigating and the spirit of the Government of India resolution on Land Revenue policy, may be put an end to."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. SADASIVA BHAT:—"I wish to say a few words on one or two questions affecting the two districts I represent here. I shall first refer to the bad season. The budget estimate for the year which had been framed on the basis of normal conditions had to be revised and the revised estimate showed a decrease of about 16 lakhs due as was explained in the Draft Financial Statement—to an increase of remission, on account of the unfavourable conditions in 15 districts including South Kanara and suspension of collections till the next year in five districts—the largest amount of suspension being 1·95 lakhs in South Kanara. In the discussion of the Financial Statement in this Council, no objection was taken to these figures; in fact no reference was made to them, but I regret to learn that the Government have since ordered jamabandi to be completed in South Kanara as if there is no remission at all in South Kanara and there is to be suspension only to the extent of about Rs. 28,000 in certain individual villages. These orders have come as a painful surprise on the district. When I moved a resolution on the question of remissions, the Hon'ble Mr. Couchman replying on behalf of Government stated that there was no doubt failure and distress and that remissions would be granted. Till the harvesting of the crops was over, Mr. Vibert was the Collector, and he had gone over the whole district during these months of distress and had seen the things for himself. When the Hon'ble Mr. Buckley was on tour in that district about the harvesting time, the District Association waited upon him and begged him to see the extent of the calamity himself. I understood he too was satisfied that there has been a general failure of the first crop—the only crop which is assessed and from which the assessment has to be paid in South Kanara. It was after the harvesting operations were over that the Government accepted the principle of granting remissions in South Kanara—not under the ordinary rules but as a general calamity, inserting the figures referred to by me in the Draft Financial Statement. This was in February last. What happened since then to persuade the Government to change their mind I fail to understand. If it were any recent report of the present Collector of the district on the outturn of the first crop, I must remark that it is extremely unfair. The crop has been off the land several months previously, and I fail to see what materials the Collector could have had to make any report on to vary the conclusion of officers who examined the question when the crop was being harvested. I am also surprised to see that suspension is to be in certain individual villages. I wish the Government to state how they were able to make this distinction between some villages and others. If it were due to the fact that applications were received from those villages, may I remind the Government that the principle on which they agreed to grant was on a general average and not on individual applications? I assure Your Excellency's Government that the orders of the Government in variation of their original figures have created great hardship and keen disappointment. I appeal to Your Excellency's Government again to grant the remissions and suspensions originally contemplated at least in the collection of the May kists.

"Another point I wish to refer is the question of railway extension in Malabar and South Kanara. I am anxious that the Government should not shelve these projects at the stages in which they are, merely on the ground that materials for constructing those lines will not be available for some time. Even if the materials are available, the Government are not in a position to start construction at once. With each of these projects there are some details to be worked out to bring the papers to completion stage and before construction can be undertaken. I request Your Excellency's Government to push the completion of these preliminaries. With the Hassan-Mangalore railway project, for example, there was an offer by the Mysore Darbar

to consider the question whether they will agree to construct their portion of the line if the Government or the South Kanara District Board will bring the line to the frontier. The Darbar has been vigorously working at their scheme of railways to the Malnad tracts above South Kanara and it will be advantageous to both parties if we can persuade the Railway Board to come to some agreement or decision with the Mysore Darbar on this question which has long been hanging fire though finally reported on by the Special Engineer Mr. Richards more than two years ago.

"I wish to urge also that somehow the development of the natural resources of South Kanara does not receive due attention at the hands of Government This is probably due to the fact that as a rule there are not many high officers at the capital who have seen considerable service in that district, or who have given any thought to that subject. Our heavy rainfall, all running to waste, our numerous rivers, waterfalls and backwaters, our extensive but inaccessible forests, our vast areas of hillside and waste land at the disposal of Government from sea level up to 3,000 feet—I feel that Government may do well to consider all these conditions and work out a scheme for utilizing this excess rainfall, for turning our streams and backwaters to be more useful as means of communication and for purposes of irrigation of lands now left unoccupied and make the immense quantities of forest produce and timber, now valueless on the spot, available on the coast.

"I have very little to say on the budget itself. I congratulate Your Excellency on being able to make an increased provision for education and sanitation and that Your Excellency has been able to afford extended relief to the poorer subordinates of Government. We cannot be certain that next year conditions will be better and prices easier."

The Hon'ble YAQUB HASAN SAHIB Bahadur:—"Your Excellency, this is the third budget that this Council is discussing at the end of its three years' course. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the war and the uncertainty about its duration do no longer enter into our calculations in such serious affairs of life as budget making. Though war is happily ended, its after-effects will continue to embarrass the country's finances for a long time to come. The Provincial Government is however saved the necessity of making both ends meet as far as the effects of war are concerned. The only sources of revenue which the local Government shares equally with the Imperial Government have not been affected adversely. On the other hand, revenues under land, stamps, excise, income-tax and major irrigation works have gone on steadily growing. There will however be a loss of 10 lakhs in the income-tax receipt on account of the relief given to a large number of people whose income is below Rs. 2,000 a year. The Government of India will however make up our share of the loss by a grant from Imperial revenues. The Government of India deserves the grateful thanks of this Province for the consideration shown to persons of small incomes at the time when the high prices of necessaries have made life miserable for this class of people.

"It is not a good augury for the future that the first year after the war should begin with a deficit. There was a surplus of 48·70 lakhs in 1917–18 but the small surplus (3·34) budgeted for last year turned into a small deficit of 4·99. In the current year it is anticipated that the deficit will be as much as 75·25 lakhs. I am glad no attempt has been made to avoid this by curtailing expenditure under such useful heads as education and sanitation. The closing balance alone will be affected which (12,084 lakhs) will still stand as high as it was in 1908–09 when there was a surplus of 20·0 lakhs. We had deficit in the first three war years (52·99, 65·44 and 14 lakhs respectively) and the closing balance in the last two of these three years was a little above 110 lakhs. The position is therefore, in spite of the deficit, quite satisfactory for which Your Excellency has our congratulations.

"I do not look upon the growth of excise revenue with satisfaction. This is filthy revenue and I hope a day will soon come when these figures are entirely wiped off our budget estimates. The United States of America have recently set up an example which behoves all civilized governments to follow.

"I have been thanking the Government year after year for their efforts in the past and in anticipation of further efforts in the future on behalf of Muhammadan education, but I feel that I cannot this year consistently with my self-respect give credit to Your Excellency's Government for wise utilization of the country's resources in this direction. The Government College for Muhammadans is simply superfluous and all the money to be spent in buildings, equipment and library in order to make it conform to the conditions of affiliation as pointed out and undertaken by the Director of Public Instruction in the last senate meeting will be sheer waste considering the fact that within a few furlongs of Umdah Bagh exists the most up-to-date Government institution of the Presidency College All that was needed was to admit in the latter college a larger proportion of Muslim students than was hitherto the case. All this money which will run to the tune of some lakhs by the time the college is completed, would have yielded better returns in the production of Muslim graduates if it was partly spent in scholarships and partly in helping the community in raising their private educational institutions to a higher status and a better degree of efficiency.

"We had been budgeting a sum for the last two years for a Muhammadan Secondary school at Trichinopoly, but that school has not yet come into existence. I would like to know who is responsible for this delay.

"I am glad provision has been made for a training school for Muhammadan women at Trichinopoly. I wish Government had adopted my suggestion and budgeted a sum of money for providing suitable buildings for the Georgetown secondary school and the elementary schools that Government maintain for Muhammadans in this city. Still I hope Government will give

their attention to this subject and purchase building sites and get building plans made, so that a provision may be made in the next year's budget for putting the scheme into execution.

"I am glad half a lakh is provided for establishing a medical school for women at Madras, my resolution about which, the Government were pleased to accept last year. I wish Government had made a provision also for one medical school for men, preferably in the ceded districts, the urgent need of which has been recognized by Government. Nothing appears to have been done last year (for which no report is yet published) in the matter of establishing additional women and children's dispensaries towards which the Government in accepting my resolution in February 1917, had promised to take all practicable steps. The dearth of qualified medical women is no doubt responsible for this. I hope it may be possible to do something in this direction in the ensuing year. Now that officers are returning to civil duty from military service, it should be possible to extend medical relief more largely. The appointment of travelling sub-assistant surgeons is a desirable innovation which I hope will prove successful enough to make it a permanent feature of the programme of medical relief in this Presidency. While on this subject, a word on the reorganization of medical services may not perhaps be out of place. The manner in which the inquiry is being conducted in camera by a committee has naturally aroused public suspicion as to the bona fides of the Government and it is necessary that that suspicion be allayed by taking the public into the confidence of the Government.

"It is a matter of satisfaction that the agricultural department is being expanded and reorganized. The increase of budgeted expenditure to the extent of nearly 50 per cent is not at all in excess of the needs of the department. Experiments in Cambodia cotton should have, by this time, advanced at least one step further than the initial stage. Now that a suitable site has been provided, it is hoped the department will be able to show some progress this year. The commercial community as well as the cotton mill industry keenly look forward to developments in this line. Provision of only Rs. 10,000 for the development of silk industry is wholly inadequate. The department has asked for a well-trained specialist to run a fully-equipped silk station at Kollegal and I hope the specialist will be appointed in the course of this year. The revival of indigo industry appears to be doomed to end in failure with the end of the war.

"With a view to retain the services of Mr. Innes as Director of Industries I moved a resolution in the February meeting that his salary be increased beyond the figure laid down in the original estimates. I was pleased to see that Government increased the amount still further in the revised estimate. It has caused a great disappointment to me and to the public, both Indian and European, to see that the experiences that Mr. Innes had gained in the course of some years are lost to the department at a time when some tangible result was expected to come out of them. There will always be the fear of such contingency arising as long as Indian Civil Service men continue to be placed in charge of this department. It is high time that Directors and Assistant Directors are recruited from business and industrial circles. No provision has been made for the establishment of a technological institute in connexion with the Calicut Soap factory. The teaching side has not been established yet to this industry and yet the Government persist in carrying on the manufacture of soap on a large commercial scale even after the industry has become firmly established in this Presidency. The retirement of Sir Frederick Nicholson should have been availed of for bringing the fisheries under the control of the Director of Industries. Instead of promoting in the usual course the Assistant Director of Fisheries who happens to be a highly efficient hand, to the Director's post, a European gentleman has been pitch-forked into the place who had lesser claim to it. My resolution for the provision of a lump sum for a commercial museum was disallowed at the February meeting on the plea of irrelevancy although it could properly come under the head of miscellaneous and scientific department. The attitude of the Government in respect of the resolution I have moved at this meeting makes me hope that something will be done towards this object this year, notwithstanding there being no specific provision for it in the budget. The control imposed on tanning industry has been removed as far as skins are concerned and it will be removed on 1st July next in the case of hides also. The huge surplus stocks of hides that Government have in the United Kingdom have depressed the market of tanned hides and productions are being restricted to avoid a grave situation It is too soon to foresee whether this industry will again attain the pre-war position after the disturbing factors of post-war creation have disappeared.

"Mr. Innes has submitted to the Government of India proposals for preventing the adulteration of hides which have been drawn up with the help and approval of the trade and the Government's decision concerning the same is anxiously awaited.

"I am still of the opinion that the control of civil supplies has produced a result contrary to the object for which the department was created. Government did not rise equal to the occasion when there was a crying need for action in the matter of regulating civil supplies. To insist on keeping up this belated department after the need for it has gone and after the war has ended, does not appear to me to be a sound policy. The fact that expenditure in this department is met from Imperial revenues was no doubt the principal reason for the non-official indifference to this subject.

"I omitted to mention under the education head that I had wished that the Government had adopted my suggestion and budgeted a sum of money for providing suitable buildings for a Muhammadan secondary school in Georgetown and the elementary school for Muhammadans which the Government are maintaining. I trust that some steps will be taken in the matter of selecting suitable sites and drawing up plans, etc., for these buildings so that at least next year when a suggestion is made for a provision under this head it may not be said that there is no estimate to go upon."

At this stage the Council adjourned for a short interval.

The Council re-assembled after the interval at 3 p.m.

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—' Your Excellency, before offering a few remarks on the budget I may be permitted to refer to one or two remarks made by my Honourable Friends who have preceded me. One of these is that of the Hon'ble Sir Fairless Barber who stated that the members of his community desired the co-operation of the Indian Members of this Council and that all of us are intent on the same purpose of the improvement of the masses. Your Excellency, we fully reciprocate that sentiment. During the last few years during which the Minto-Morley reforms have been in operation several resolutions have been brought forward in this Council which I venture to think—and in fact almost the whole work of this Council from our point of view—has been devoted to the purpose of improving the condition of the masses, improving their economic position and affording them better educational facilities. In fact if my Honourable Friend will look into the headings and the general trend of the resolutions brought forward, generally our aim has been in the direction of producing that improvement which the Hon'ble Sir Fairless Barber so much desires. My complaint is that those members who represent the commercial and industrial interests in this Council, the European members, have not been so anxious to co-operate with us in this task of reconstruction. I should like to ask him to point to a single instance in which any resolution has been brought forward in this Council for the betterment of the masses or any suggestion made to us in the Council or elsewhere to co-operate with us to produce the results which both of us desire. I am tempted to make these remarks, Your Excellency, because the Honourable Member has stated that much of our work is something like putting the cart before the horse and he endorsed the statement of the Hon'ble Mr. Thonger to that effect, in this Council, which he made a few days ago. In fact I have not correctly understood the Hon'ble Sir Fairless Barber, but Your Excellency, that is the impression which his remarks have left upon me."

The Hon'ble Sir FAIRLESS BARBER :—" If I might explain, I said that the Hon'ble Mr. Thonger's remarks were not inapt and unjust, but I thought it was not fair to lay the whole blame on our legal friends."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—" I am thankful to the Hon'ble Sir Fairless Barber for coming to our rescue and exonerating us from the whole blame for this state of things. He says that the blame for the present condition of things is distributable in portion to the Government and in portion to us and a portion is allocated to himself and other members. That is a fair distribution, and I am prepared to take it in that way. Your Excellency, I do not wish to pursue the matter further. If my friend or any representative of the European community in this Council is anxious to co-operate with us for the betterment of the masses, I may tell him that the only way in which to do that is to vote with us, say on the question of compulsory elementary education or on the question of improving the condition of the depressed classes or on the question of improving the condition of rural sanitation. I may mention one hundred other subjects which were brought up and ventilated before this Council in the last few years. So much for my Honourable Friend Sir Fairless Barber.

" The Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad referred to the feeling of disappointment in connexion with the work of this Council. Your Excellency, I fear that not only myself but several Honourable Members of the Council have somewhat the same feelings in regard to the net results of our work in this Council. Your Excellency, the point is that the main reason for this state of things is the system under which we are working in this Council, and one of these is the question of the official block in this Council. I am tempted to quote in this connexion the remarks made by the Marquis of Crewe in the House of Lords when the Minto-Morley reforms were under discussion where he pointed out the evils of being in a perpetual minority in a deliberative or legislative assembly such as this. The Marquis of Crewe said as follows :—' The noble Lord said last night that after all there was no great hardship in being in a perpetual minority and he pointed to those benches as illustrating the possibility of being in that position and yet surviving. Well my Lord, appearances are sometimes deceptive; we may maintain a calm joviality, but the noble Lord will guess, if he does not know, the effect on our general character, our tempers and our minds, of living in a state of being perpetually outvoted. I am speaking quite seriously when I say that if the noble Lord opposite had shared our fate, during the ten years before we came into office, he would know the truth of what I am saying Most of us towards the end of those ten years were beginning to lose interest in public life, and began to think it might be well to turn our attention to the cultivation of our gardens.'

" Your Excellency, some of us do feel that the work in this Council has tried our temper and has had some effect upon our general desire to appreciate the efforts of the Government and altogether there is no concealing the fact that this state of things under which we are perpetually outvoted in this Council has given us a sense of despair and despondency. I think the blame is due to some extent to the Hon'ble Sir Fairless Barber and his friends for they could have made our minority in this Council, if they co-operated with us, into a majority."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" I hoped to hear the Honourable Member on the budget; but two-thirds of his time is already exhausted."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—" I have only five minutes. Much has been said on the budget already by my Honourable Friends and I do not wish to say much on it. I have tried to use these occasions not for the discussion of the budget but for telling the Council what we feel on some of these important subjects. I may recall the observation of one of the Finance Members that the budget day is a day when everybody speaks on everything but the budget. Once a year we are let off to tell Your Excellency's Government what we feel without the restrictions of debate and without being pulled up under the rules of procedure

"Two other remarks which I intended to make relate to the financial position of this Presidency. In this connexion I have a complaint to make. We have tried for opportunities in this Council to ventilate our grievances in connexion with the scheme of financial devolution which has been adumbrated in the Joint Report, which shows that this province, if these proposals are accepted, ought to contribute a sum of 428 lakhs as contribution for the expenditure of the Imperial Government. I gave notice of a resolution, and several Honourable Members similarly gave notice of resolutions, but unfortunately discussion on that matter was not permitted. Perhaps Honourable Members are already aware of the state of things which, if this scheme is to be accepted, would be the result. The Province of Madras would have to contribute 428 lakhs and the net surplus that will be left to us if this scheme is sanctioned would be 63 lakhs. The figures given for the other provinces are as follows : Bombay would have a net surplus of 13 lakhs, Bengal 10 lakhs, the United Provinces 48 lakhs, the Punjab 32 lakhs, Burma 21 lakhs, Bihar and Orissa 6 lakhs, the Central Provinces 5 lakhs, Assam 3 lakhs. So that the contribution from Madras will be the heaviest, and it is assumed in this distribution that the gross provincial expenditure is 840 lakhs. The point that I would like to press most insistently upon Your Excellency's Government is that we as trustees of the future people of this Presidency ought to secure from the Imperial Government a fair and adequate share of the revenues raised in this province for the purpose of provincial expenditure. I contend that this scheme is entirely unjust and altogether inadequate to meet the needs of this province. I am even prepared to say that if this scheme of financial devolution is the one that should accompany the scheme of constitutional reforms, I think the result will be that we shall have no finance at the back of the constitutional reforms. Your Excellency, we have only to look at the figures in the Financial Statement.

"I join my Honourable Friends who have preceded me in offering our felicitations to Your Excellency's Government and to the Finance Member for the very ample provision that has been made for expenditure on education, sanitation and all the various services in this Presidency. But after all we have to recognise this fact that it is really a deficit budget. Our income is 848 lakhs and our expenditure is 918 lakhs and the deficit is, as the Honourable Member will see, 70 lakhs; I am afraid, Your Excellency, that if this budget had been sent up by any district board, I am sure that the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar would at once have rejected it or at once returned it for amendment so as to balance the ordinary normal revenues with the ordinary normal expenditure. I recognise at the same time that a portion of this expenditure is due to the large expenditure on war allowance, but nevertheless I contend, Your Excellency, that the financial position of this Presidency will only be bettered when we have adequate revenues for the usual expenditure in this province.

"Your Excellency in bringing these remarks to a close I should like to add a word or two to what my Honourable Friend Mr. Rama Ayyangar has said in support of the claim of the Provincial Service in this province. I need not make any lengthy reference, for the points in connexion with these services have been discussed at great length for the last five or six years. The general position is that in 1886 when the Public Service Commission sat for the first time the number of officers employed in the Provincial Executive Service was 61 ; to-day it is 148 and about 50 people are employed on acting appointments so that we have about 240 men in the Executive Service or nearly as many as in the Provincial Judicial Service. The number of superior appointments which are open to these 300 men are four District-Judgeships, three Collectorships, the post of Secretary to the Revenue Board, one Under-Secretaryship and one Secretaryship under the Government. I do not wish to include in this category of superior appointments, fifteen Sub-Collectorships which are listed for that service. Your Excellency, we do not know what shape the question of recruitment for the public services is likely to take, but I would suggest that in order to remove discontent in the service the only way is to temporarily list some more superior posts to this branch until such time as those are able, by being recruited under new conditions, to take their place as District Judges. I do not think such a course would in any way be unjust to the members of the Indian Civil Service who are now in service. There have been three new districts recently and there have been a number of new appointments added to the Indian Civil Service cadre, and I think Your Excellency's Government will do them justice if some temporary listing takes place in order to remove the discontent which undoubtedly now prevails in that service.

"In bringing my remarks to a close I wish to reiterate what I said last year in making an appeal to the members of Indian Civil Service to make these constitutional reforms a success by co-operating in working out these reforms and placing themselves at the head of the best national forces in this country and drawing out co-operation from all parts of the country in making this great change a reality."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. CHIDAMBARANATHA MUDALIYAR :—"Your Excellency, in making a few observations on the budget, as usual, I wish to draw particular attention to the very inadequate provision made in the revised estimate for this year with regard to the abnormal agricultural situation and also the very high estimate that has been made for the next year, for I feel that according to the estimate given by the Director of Civil Supplies while in 1917–18 under paddy alone there were 10 million odd acres, in 1918–19 there have been 1 million acres less of cultivated land, so that about one-eleventh of the cultivated land under paddy has decreased. The provision under remission, in the revised estimate amounts, according to the reply to my interpellation, under all cultivations, comes to Rs. 25 lakhs. Under paddy alone on ryotwari tenure lands there is a demand of 600 and odd lakhs and about Rs. 25 lakhs are provided for all remissions whereas in paddy alone there is a

7TH APRIL 1919.] (*Mr. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar.*)

decrease in cultivation by one-eleventh. Why I wish to draw particular attention to this matter is to show the extremely inadequate provision made under the head of remissions in the districts which have suffered by the abnormally bad season during the year 1918-19. There is in addition to this fall in the cultivation a fall in the yield of the crop so much so that I particularly wish to place before the Government that the provision under remission appears to be extremely low, extremely inadequate and absolutely insufficient to meet even in any degree the actual difficulties of the land-owning public.

"Your Excellency, it seems to me that such abnormal bad years should give us certain lessons both to devise certain immediate remedies and to devise standing remedies. I suggested in a resolution of mine that particularly in such abnormal bad years as the last it is better that we do not proceed entirely upon the official estimate of the whole situation, but it would be advisable both in the interest of the State and in the interest of the people to have a committee composed of both officials and non-officials to make an inquiry into the situation and to make their own recommendations. But under some pretext or other that resolution has not had a chance of being discussed in the Council, though I am pretty certain that the discussion of it may not have had much by way of practical results. Anyhow I wish to lay before the Council that when the landholders form about 90 per cent of the people of this Presidency some more care ought to be taken of their difficulties and their hardships and some real and substantial provision must be made in the budget estimate to meet particularly such an abnormally bad situation as we find ourselves face to face with in the present year.

"The Madras Ryotwari Landholders' Association proposed that there should be a provision of at least 50 lakhs under remissions. I would certainly go much further. From the figures that I have already quoted, it must have gone even much higher, and the provision under remission must have been far more substantial if it is to meet in any degree the actual difficulties of the landholding population at the present moment. Even now I do not think that it is too late if only the Government had the will to do it and to go a little further to make actual inquiries in the suffering districts and come to the rescue of the people in a more substantial manner.

"As for the permanent lessons that you may draw from such a bad year as this one, the most important lesson seems to me to help particularly in dry districts in the sinking of more wells by the Government and the advancing of loans under the Agricultural Loans Act and doing it also through the means of the co-operative societies which certainly would ensure both the position of the Government and the position of the landholders a great deal better than they are at present; co-operative societies can be depended upon, looking at the fact that they are at present almost entirely under Government supervision and control, to make these grants, according to the needs, in a wider and ampler way to the particular localities than is now being done through the means of local revenue officials. The cost of getting these loans will be much less, and the co-operative society in a particular rural tract will have a good idea of the actual character of the man who applies for loans and the Government will have ample security for the money they advance through these societies for the purpose of loans.

"Another point that I wish to draw the particular attention of the Government to is that the area under food-grains is decreasing. That is a matter which in my opinion requires special attention. While the area under paddy has risen to some extent, the area under the other dry food-crops has decreased considerably. It may be that the commercial crops are taking the place of these food-crops to some extent, but it appears to me that this is a matter which requires special examination by the Government to arrive at conclusions which would be really satisfactory, particularly in bad years like the one we have had, so that there may not be any substantial fall in the quantity of food-crops in the province. I would even go further and advocate a small duty on the export of non-food-grains if the Government can see their way to agree with the suggestion so that in bad years the public of this province may not have the necessity of expecting their supply from other provinces.

"Another matter that I wish to invite the special attention of the Government to is the repair of survey stones and the abnormal cost which is being charged under the name of such repairs. It is often keenly felt to be a very heavy burden upon the villagers. During the last eight years I find that the amount that comes under revenue for the time and labour of the staff has more than quadrupled. In 1912-13 it was Rs. 24,000; in 1919-20 the amount budgeted for comes to 1·12 lakhs. Your Excellency, I think it is a very serious matter and it is being very keenly felt by the public at large. I wish the Government would make a thorough examination of the whole question and see if this rise which is being constantly kept up year after year cannot be checked and some steps devised so that this source of trouble and burden to the landholder may not go up as it has done during the last eight years.

"Your Excellency, I hope Your Excellency's Government have in their most careful consideration the question of giving the Secretary of State as regards the Kannambadi reservoir the particular results that he desired of this year, and the best way to give that is what its effect will be on the lands under the Cauvery irrigation if the Kannambadi reservoir were to be completed. I find that the Secretary of State has referred to the Madras Government the question of making a report as to how its effect will be observed, during this year. I earnestly trust that the Madras Government will, as they have always done, most earnestly try to do their best in the matter of reporting the true state of affairs and the situation of the Cauvery irrigation during the last year.

(*Mr. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar ; Mr. Narasimha Ayyar.*) [7TH APRIL 1919.

" Your Excellency, I am glad that an attempt is being made to introduce irrigation panchayats. There is one suggestion that I wish to make before I close my remarks, that is the lesser the number of panchayats in villages are, the better would it be in the interests of the public. If for each aspect of life there should be a different panchayat, there should be an irrigation panchayat, a revenue panchayat, a litigation panchayat—if in that way there should be a number of panchayats it would not work well in the rural parts. What I would suggest is that the number of panchayats should be as few as possible in these rural areas and let the different Acts give them different powers so that there would be a few bodies invested with different sets of powers. That in my opinion would work well in these rural areas. With these few remarks I earnestly trust Your Excellency's Government would attempt to do their best in the matter of giving relief to the land holding public, particularly in such an abnormally bad season as we have seen in the last year."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR :—" Your Excellency, three years ago in this hall we had a series of speeches from non-official members which were characterised by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar in his reply as a gloomy foreboding characteristic of all bodies on the eve of dissolution. The gloomy foreboding referred to matters which have again been dealt with in the remarks of the Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad and the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao just now. That is the very little extent to which the co-operation between the officials and non-officials in this Council seemed to go and the doubtful utility of any efforts being made in this direction. Honourable Members one after another deplored the great slaughter, the perpetual slaughter of non-official resolutions however constructive they might be and the heavy giant-like use of the official block which leaves no chance for these resolutions to survive. The question now is have these forebodings been justified or has the answer given by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar been justified? He hoped that things were getting on for the better and that there was very little justification for these forebodings. I am afraid, Your Excellency, that from my experience of these three years it is impossible to say that our forebodings have been without justification. I notice that what was then said could justly be repeated and has been justly repeated now. It may be pointed out that in a few directions something like an advance has been made or promised. For instance in the all-important matter as to the part which the non-officials take in dealing with the budget it may be pointed out that an advance has been made. Non-official members were consulted this year at an earlier stage than on former occasions and they have greater chance of moulding the shape of the financial statement and the budget to a greater extent than in previous years. But that is all in appearance. When we look at the way in which resolutions were treated at the last meeting and compare it with the way in which they were treated previously, I think it would require a strong microscope to discover any difference. I think there may be an apparent difference of treatment but the result is the same. You may change the form of the institution but if the spirit that inhabits it is the same the result is, the working of the particular institution would still remain the same. That seems to be the state of things in regard to this institution. I shall only express again the hope that soon there may be scope for a real and substantial change both in the spirit and the form in the nature of our work.

" I shall pass on to consider other matters. Taking up the budget, the first thing that comes to my mind is about the totals shown there. I join my voice with that of the Honourable Members who have preceded me and pointed out that the totals available for expenditure in this province are too small when compared with what in justice and equity we should have. We wish to strengthen the hands of Your Excellency's Government in again putting forward the demand that the Madras Presidency should not be called upon to bear such an unequal and heavy share of the burden of Indian administration and more of the revenues raised in the province should be left to be utilized for the numerous needs of the public of the Province. I know that some justifications have been attempted. For instance in the Montagu-Chelmsford report the justification is put forward that the matter is historical, it has been there all along. I consider that a historical explanation really means no explanation. For instance, it could have been very well said in defence of the rotten boroughs which the Act of 1832 did away with in the United Kingdom that they were historically justified. Historical justification means a statement of fact, which may mean the statement of a grievance. Your Excellency's Government has the strong and united support of the representatives of the public in this Council and also the unanimous voice of the public in this Presidency in this matter.

" I shall proceed to take up the head of Excise and offer just a few remarks on it. We notice from the budget that there is an increase in the consumption of country spirits and it is also pointed out that there is an increase in the consumption of toddy. This is simultaneous with the remarkable advance made in the United States of America. In the budget however we do not find any serious expression of regret at this increased consumption. High wages and other facts are mentioned as if this is a fact which can be passed by with indifference. I really think that what goes on in the West has to be looked at for the purpose of deriving enlightenment here. The day has long gone by when the Government could state that a few faddists, presumably Brahmans, in their antipathy to drink would, if placed in charge of the excise policy, create grievous discomfort to the drinking classes and therefore any reform on the lines of total prohibition would savour of bigotry in a statesman. Those days are gone. In America which cannot be accused of Brahmanism or any caste prejudice against drink, we find that the total prohibition policy has gone on purely on statesmanship and on the ground of the greatest good of the greatest number. I think that Your Excellency's Government will, even at the risk of losing some of these valuable lakhs or even crores of the revenue that we see in the

budget under the head 'excise', seriously undertake a revision of policy in this matter subject to what the Government of India may have to say until our financial autonomy is established. I hope that a departure in this direction will ere long be embarked on by Your Excellency's Government.

"I shall proceed to the head of forests. Under the head of forests I notice there is some increase of expenditure on additional temporary staff, and that leads me to the other question, namely, as to what extra benefit this forest department is rendering to the public. It may be remembered that when the Forest Committee's report was published, it was hailed with acclamation by the public as heralding the dawn of a new era and the Government realized the extent of oppression and dissatisfaction existing in the villages which came in close contact with the forest subordinates. Forest panchayats were being looked for and just when a few were started, the public acclaimed them with great joy. But since then not only do we find that the progress of the forest panchayats has been slow but some unfortunate pronouncements have been made in this hall which seemed to suggest that the Government did not endorse the views of the Forest Committee and possibly the Government would go back upon the policy enunciated by the Forest Committee. That statement was a statement made by some members of the Government that the picture of extortion and oppression by forest subordinates was overdrawn in that Committee's report. I can give my personal testimony to the fact that it is certainly not overdrawn and if any Honourable Member would like to have that verified, I would ask him to follow the worthy example of Mr. Horne, and go with me, and he would see widespread prevalence of oppression and corruption. I wish to point out that more of these forest panchayats are wanted, and it is necessary to increase their number. You can try and have special officers. The district forest officers not having much time, the Government should not hesitate to go in for an additional staff and they will have the hearty support of the Honourable Members of this Council."

"I come next to the police. I notice that there has been a steady increase of expenditure. I notice also that the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson said yesterday that more police stations were wanted and he asked, 'you complain of the expenditure on the police but you are the gentlemen who want more police stations.' My answer to that is brief. One is by no means contradictory of the other. You can have more police stations and yet not increase the total expenditure, because it may be possible to cut down the expenditure in other directions. That is very largely the opinion of non-officials, that the expenditure at the top has been increased in a manner not warranted by public opinion or sound principles of police administration and that the expenditure in the lower ranks of the department is not incurred in the way in which the public would like it to be incurred. There is absolutely no contradiction. In any case this Council has rejected the proposal for increasing the number of police stations. What I say is in spite of the fact that there are not as many police stations as are wanted we find an increase in the expenditure. What is the justification? Can it be said that the public are creating too much trouble and cannot be managed without such an amount of expenditure? Let us compare for instance Bengal with this Presidency. The expenditure in both the provinces is the same. Yet it cannot be said that the police in Bengal have only the same work as they have here. On the other hand I may point out that in this Presidency we had a remarkable illustration of the extent to which the people are prepared to co-operate with the Government and render such assistance to the police as may be necessary. For instance, yesterday, the ever-memorable *Satyagraha* day, we had over one lakh of people marching on, wave after wave, a whole sea of faces marching towards the Triplicane beach. There was not a single police constable there and the people on account of the feeling about the Rowlatt legislation were fasting, and all the conditions were unfavourable to the maintenance of law and order, and yet we had not even one solitary instance of throwing brick bats. What does it prove? It proves most emphatically that in this Presidency we have an extent of orderliness and peacefulness which is totally unlike what you have in Bengal, and which warrants the reduction of the expenditure and does not warrant this steady increase in police expenditure. I think it may fairly be assumed that the non-officials who have been urging retrenchment in the police expenditure have a solid foundation for their resolution. I do not know what exactly will be the reply by the Honourable Member on behalf of the Government, but I wish to point out that there is at present peacefulness and an increasing realization not only on the part of the leaders but also of the people of their responsibility and vast numbers of people are showing their eminent fitness for the future privileges to be entrusted to them and to take their share in the self-government that has been long promised and that has been long due. Therefore the expenditure on police will, I hope, be reduced.

"I must thank the Government for accepting my resolution about co-operation. The whole movement was started in order to meet the depressing effect of poverty in the land. The effect of poverty was noticed in the recent years and also in the current year when famine conditions have been prevalent in so many areas and have resulted in a remarkably acute situation. The people find that the prices are worse than previous famine prices and so many families which never thought of begging have been reduced to beggary. Yet we find the fringe of this evil has not been touched by the co-operative societies. The object of the co-operative movement was to assuage this. No doubt during the last fifteen years we have had about 3,000 societies, but what is this 3,000 societies amidst the 52,000 villages we have? To touch even the fringe of this evil we must have one society for each village or at least two villages. Let us take the rate of progress. During the last fifteen years we have had 3,000 societies. At that rate it will take several generations before we touch the fringe of this evil. Are we to contemplate this

with any sense of self-complacency ? Certainly the resolution put forward yesterday has come none too soon. Therefore I think Honourable Members are fully entitled to look forward to Your Excellency's Government taking as early action as possible on that accepted resolution and trying to fill the Presidency with a large number of societies. What I mean is this. Formerly the Assistant Registrars made it a very important part of their work to start new societies. Nowadays the starting of societies is the last portion of the work they think of. There is practical discouragement and they do not care for it. There is some sense in consolidating the foundation before proceeding faster but I hope that that criticism will disappear and I hope they will realize that they have not touched even the fringe of this evil and the Assistant Registrars must be as brisk now as they were years ago in starting new societies and not only in taking care that those which have been started are properly looked after.

"I shall close with a word on education. Honourable Members who preceded me have talked about free compulsory education. I believe that the Government must be realizing that the hour is drawing nigh when no Government which claims to be a civilized Government can neglect the provision of free compulsory education. With the increased franchise we are introducing everywhere, free and compulsory education is absolutely necessary and for the proposals for industrial development which Your Excellency's Government have put forward, free compulsory education is equally necessary. With reference to this I wish only to point out that on a previous occasion we had to refer to the deplorable delay in taking steps in this direction. I think the Government have some Bill on this subject. I do not know in what state it is. It is the desire of Honourable Members here that the Government should see their way to hurry up the sanction of the Government of India by reminders and see that the Bill is pushed forward which will enable large leading places like Madras, Madura or Salem to start a scheme in the course of twelve months. Certainly it would not be considered impossible and although there is no provision in the budget for any step being taken, I hope that the Government realize the importance of it and if they do so, the non-official members will give them all support.

"One more word about Panchama education. Your Excellency may remember that on a previous occasion we had a resolution that free boarding schools may be started for the benefit of the depressed classes. The Government were labouring under a difficulty which appeared to be imaginary ; that is, as to who are the depressed classes. I believe it is not necessary to repeat the argument. The public has discussed the matter threadbare. In the case of the Panchamas there is no difficulty in knowing who they are, and if the Government start institutions at an early date to give relief to these classes by starting free boarding schools they would be doing what the public is anxiously looking forward to. The Hon'ble the Raja of Pittapuram said that so long as we keep this class in a condition of servility we are unfit for political privileges. I do not know whether it is necessary to say that this Provincial Government or the public are unfit, but it appears to me that there is a serious clog in the wheel of political development when we keep a large class of people immersed in the dark depths of ignorance and I am quite sure that what the Hon'ble the Raja of Pittapuram meant was that this serious obstacle to the development of the country must be removed by the Government and the people also should co-operate by taking steps in that direction. We are looking forward to the Government co-operating in this matter. Your Excellency has only to look to our proceedings to find that the non-official members are practically unanimous in putting forward a claim on behalf of the Panchamas for the sake of general progress. I hope Your Excellency's Government will find it possible to further this great national object and Your Excellency's Government will have the support not only of this Council—I think the Hon'ble Mr. Ramaswami Ayyar is hardly right in supposing that it is a settled fact that this Council is going to expire to-day—but also of its successors. Your Excellency's Government may rest assured of the solid support of non-officials in any steps for helping the Panchama classes."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. KRISHNA RAO :—"Your Excellency, while I fully appreciate the care and skill with which the budget has been prepared and the willingness and the earnestness with which increased provision has been made for education, I do not consider it necessary to offer any special congratulations on the budget which has now been placed before us. I shall make a few remarks on the financial conditions of the province with the full hope and belief that on that subject there will not be any disagreement between the Government and the people and that both will do their best to improve the condition of this province. Your Excellency has been associated with the administration of this Presidency in various departments from the 7th December 1882, when Your Excellency landed in India, and during the last 36 or 37 years the experience gained about the work of the various departments and about the conditions of the province must enable us to hope that before Your Excellency hands over charge of the exalted office of Governor of the province and later on of the office of Finance Member of the province, some definite steps will be taken to place the material condition of this province on a more satisfactory basis than it is at present. I shall refer to a few facts which will unmistakeably show that there has not been such improvement in the material condition as there could have been and that the economic condition of the agriculturists is far from satisfactory.

"I shall first refer to the figures relating to land revenue, which will clearly show that more land revenue is being realized in this province than in any other major province in India. It will be found that according to the budget for 1919-20 the land revenue in this Presidency is 717·50 lakhs, in Bombay it is 555·4 lakhs, in Bengal 285·4, in the United Provinces 267·72. Whether we judge of the land revenue with reference to the extent of the assessed area or with

reference to the extent of the cultivated area in each province or with reference to the population, it is quite clear that the incidence of land revenue is much higher here than in the case of other provinces, save Bombay where also it is fairly high.

"Having so far referred to the figures relating to land revenue, I am now tempted to refer to the figures of the Registration department, because they have a bearing mostly upon the condition of the people of the agricultural classes. The income of the Registration department has some bearing on the material condition of the people because it largely represents transactions by which transfers of land are effected and also transactions by which loans are contracted on the security of property. It will be found that so far as the income from the Registration department is concerned, more is realized in this province than in any other province in India. It will be found that according to the budget for 1919–20 so far as Madras is concerned it is 27·10 lakhs, in Bombay it is 11·50 or less than half of Madras, in Bengal it is 19·00, in the United Provinces 7·55. I refer to these figures because they give us an indication of the material conditions of the people of this province as also the extent of indebtedness which may exist so far as this province is concerned

"Having referred the Council to certain figures affecting chiefly land, it will be necessary for me to point out that there has not been very much scope for the development of commerce and industries and trade in various directions; and if there are any figures which by comparative study would enable us to understand the condition of this province in that respect, it is the figures relating to income-tax. How do we stand so far as that is concerned? It will be found so far as the excess profits duty levied according to the budget for 1919–20 is concerned, that in Madras it is 25 lakhs, whereas in Bombay they have budgeted for 425 lakhs in the place of 25 in Madras; Bengal 625 lakhs, the United Provinces 25, just the same as here. When we consider the figures for the super-tax it will be found that the difference is appalling—

	LAKHS.
Madras	18·50
Bombay	53·75
Bengal	50·00
The United Provinces	11·73

"Even so far as the ordinary income-tax is concerned the figures are as follows:—

	LAKHS.
Madras	77·00
Bombay	244·90
Bengal	277·50

"What do these figures show? Do they not show that much more is realized from the land in this presidency than in other provinces and that it has not been possible to realize income from other sources to any appreciable extent? Will it not show that there has not been sufficient scope for the development of this province in the matter of trade and industry and other directions which will bring in additional income-tax and that we have been compelled to resort for the bulk of our revenue to land, though it is our duty to improve trade and commerce and improve the condition of this presidency in other respects? It is at the same time our duty to consider and see whether we have not been realizing more in the shape of land revenue than we ought to. May I, in this connexion, remind the Council that attempts made during the last five or six years to mitigate the rigor and harshness of the land revenue demand have been wholly unsuccessful. Resolutions were moved suggesting remission of assessment when the total outturn of crop was less than one-third of the normal crop. Resolutions were moved suggesting that there should be a remission when a portion of the field has not been subdivided. Resolutions were moved suggesting an inquiry as to the working of the rules of remission of assessment. What has been the result? The result has uniformly been that the Government, naturally afraid that the acceptance of these resolutions even in a modified form might reduce the land revenue, opposed the resolutions and they were rejected. Again let us consider the various attempts that were made in connexion with the progress of the resettlement of various districts in the presidency. The same results attended our efforts in that direction. Again we tried to induce the Government to have an economic inquiry into the condition of the agriculturists in certain typical villages in this presidency. In April last year a resolution was accepted by this Council, but they have not yet carried out an investigation.

"I am mentioning these things to show that while it is certain that so far as this presidency is concerned, much more is realized from land than other provinces and while it is certain that we have not been able to get income from various other sources owing to trade and commerce not flourishing here to the same extent as in Bombay or Bengal, we have not succeeded in inducing the Government to adopt a more liberal attitude in dealing with the assessment of land revenue.

"I would next point out that apart from the fact that we have found it necessary to realize from the land much more than probably the land can bear, we have not been fortunate enough in getting an adequate share from the Imperial revenue for various useful purposes. It is a matter for extreme regret that in the distribution of Imperial grants for railways or for productive irrigation works or for protective irrigation works, the allotment made so far as this province is concerned is much less than what it should have been. It will be found that for the year 1919–20 according to the budget presented in the Imperial Legislative Council in March last out of a total sum of 2,388·57 lakhs for State railways and for open lines the allotment which has been made so far as this province is concerned comes only to 121·77 lakhs. Similarly

(Mr. Krishna Rao.) [7TH APRIL 1919.

in the case of construction of lines, there has been provided 76·22 lakhs; but it has not been found necessary to provide anything so far as the lines here are concerned. I do not wish within the limited time at my disposal to refer to the discussion here when representations were made to the Government of India for taking various lines suggested on the Imperial programme; but the result has been exceedingly disappointing. Now turning our attention to productive irrigation works, out of a total sum of 65 lakhs provided for 1919-20, the total allotment made so far as this presidency is concerned is 2·66 lakhs only for the Gōdāvari and Kistna delta systems and a sum of 2 lakhs for some other projects. It is clear therefore that a provision of about 4 lakhs out of a total allotment of 65 lakhs for a major province like Madras where there are various schemes which can be taken up is certainly an unsatisfactory feature of the budget. I shall now turn my attention to the protective irrigation works which are carried on under the famine grant. Fifty-three lakhs are allotted for the whole of India and the share of Madras is only 1·62. These figures will show that while the material condition is not as satisfactory as it should be and while we find it necessary to get more from land than we ought to get, even in the matter of Imperial grants we have not been fortunate in getting as much as we ought to.

"The next point I must naturally dwell upon is the large proportion of the revenue we contribute to the Imperial exchequer. It has become proverbial that owing to the policy adopted by the Madras Government in accumulating surplus balances, the Government of India thought that Madras was in a flourishing condition; and when the previous financial settlement of Madras was made, it placed us in a very unfavourable position with the result that we are contributing to the Imperial Government a larger share than other provinces. It will be found that when the change was introduced in the provincial settlement on the 1st March 1911, the member from Madras protested as loudly as he could against the ungenerous treatment accorded to Madras and even asked if the Government of India was going to put a premium on extravagance and waste by taking advantage of the accumulated balances of the Madras Government which was due to the careful and economic working of the Madras Government. We have been anxiously expecting that a time would come when we would arrive at a better state of things. Resolutions were moved; and it was suggested that after the war was over we could make out a case for a revision of the settlement. We were told that proposals for the adjustment of the financial relations between the Imperial and the Local Government were under contemplation. It is exceedingly disappointing that the proposals formulated in the scheme of Constitutional Reforms propounded by responsible statesmen have placed Madras in a disadvantageous position. They suggest that the gross provincial revenues calculated on the budget estimate for 1917-18 should be taken into account, that the gross provincial expenditure should be deducted and that the province should contribute 87 per cent of the balance. This method of calculation is very disadvantageous and unfavourable to Madras and how do these respected authors try to justify it? This is what they say:—

"'We recognize, of course, that the objection will be taken that some provinces even under this plan will bear a very much heavier proportion of the cost of the Indian Government than others. Madras and the United Provinces will be paying 47·4 per cent and 41·1 per cent of their remaining revenues to the Government of India, while Bengal and Bombay are paying only 19·1 per cent and 9 6 per cent, respectively. Our answer is that the objection is one that applies to existing inequalities, which we admit, that our scheme fails for the present to remove.'

"Your Excellency, may I point out that it would have been far more reasonable, just and equitable if these learned authors had tried to base the proportion on the gross revenues of the province. Then only there would have been any incentive for any province to develop its revenues and resources; for otherwise a province would think of pushing on the expenditure with the hope that it would be placed on a better footing. We have been aiming at financial provincial autonomy. We have been expecting financial independence so far as the local Government is concerned. If this financial independence is crippled by the imposition of such conditions, if the proportion is based not upon the gross revenue but upon the gross surplus, I venture to suggest that it would be an undesirable principle to introduce. It is the duty of this Council, not only of this Council but of this Government, to make a very emphatic protest and a very strong protest against this obviously inequitable and unfair proposal which has been enunciated so far as this presidency is concerned. I have not the slightest doubt that if there is any matter on which we can agree, it is this.

"Connected with this, I am inclined to think that we must keep a watchful eye over the expenditure in this province. With the necessities of time and the development of work in the various departments, it has become necessary not only to increase the staff and to open new openings and new activities but also to think of increasing the salaries and allowances in various departments. One who ventures to go through the service lists will be struck by the manner in which the expenditure has been increased in the cost of administration so far as the higher officers are concerned, whereas very little or no attention is paid to those lower down in the service. I have mentioned it on various previous occasions, and I venture to repeat it again. I am anxious to repeat it because a press communiqué was published in the papers yesterday stating that on the recommendations of the Public Services Commission some communications will be made by the Government of India to the Secretary of State. We are all aware that even the recommendations of the Public Service Commission would add to the expenditure by 88 lakhs or nearly 1 crore by some process of calculation. Not being satisfied with that, the learned authors of Constitutional Reforms suggest a further increase of expenditure. Your Excellency's Government are aware that Indians generally and some officials in various places, were struck by the increasing cost of the proposals made by the Public Services Commission and

that protests were made from various quarters. One would be struck at the manner in which they would like to go further in the matter of pay and pensions. They go further than the Public Services Commission in paragraphs 319 and 320. I would therefore place for the consideration of the Government whether it is not now time for the proposals being examined as carefully as possible with the object of keeping the expenditure within reasonable limits. Nobody suggests that the expenditure ought not to be increased wherever it is absolutely necessary and wherever it is of a productive character. But when there are very costly schemes for increasing the staff of the administration, I would suggest that you must keep a very careful and watchful eye over the work of the various departments to see whether it is necessary to have this increase in the higher grades and whether it is not possible to do anything in the lower grades. What will the world think when, while we have provided about 37 lakhs for giving war allowance to various officers, we have not been able to accept the modest resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. Sadasiva Bhat advocating war allowances to village officials? I do not know why my Hon'ble Friend Mr. Siva Rao having given notice of a resolution to give travelling allowances to village officials thought it necessary to drop it. We have been able to do bare justice in the case of persons who are drawing small salaries, but still we see before our eyes proposals which would increase the cost of the administration by 80 to 100 lakhs. Therefore it is the imperative duty of the Government to examine the proposals when they are received from the Government of India and see in what respects there may be curtailment, though nobody says that wherever it is reasonable there should not be an increase.

"I am particularly tempted to make these remarks, Your Excellency, for one or two reasons, because I think that when one is not at the end of his career other considerations might prevail. Your Excellency, in the course of a few months, might hand over the charge of the Finance Department, and Your Excellency might not have much regard either to the possible objections of the Government of India or the susceptibilities of the members of the Indian Civil Service. The only standpoint from which I appeal to Your Excellency's Government to look at it is what is best in the interests of the country and whether the country can bear any substantial increase in the cost of the administration. That is the only standpoint from which I want Your Excellency's Government to look at this question. Your Excellency will be in charge of the Financial Department for some time to come; and if, from the communication published in the press, the proposals of the Public Services Commission are to be communicated in the near future these proposals should be scanned and criticised irrespective of possible objections or susceptibilities of the Government of India or the members of the Indian Civil Service. That is my special request. That is why I have attempted to make these remarks because Your Excellency's tenure of office is coming to a close, and human nature being what it is, there is absolutely no necessity for the susceptibilities of others having any part to play in the consideration of this question. That is what I feel. I consider it my duty to place that aspect before the Council.

"These are the remarks which I have considered fit to make on this occasion, because if the promised reforms are to be of any real value to the people, if they are really to place the people on a better footing, the first important point on which we should concentrate our vision is to improve the financial and material condition of the province. Suppose the financial condition is not improved and suppose we get the devolution of responsibilities to the Indian Minister, what is it he can do? It is absolutely nothing. The whole basis of the scheme of reform must depend upon financial autonomy in all its phases and complete independence of outside control in that respect. I therefore consider it necessary that as there cannot be any difference of opinion between the Government and the people on this important matter we should do our best to further the cause of this Presidency in all possible directions.

"There are two other matters on which I wish to trouble the Council. On the question of mass education several of my Honourable Friends have addressed the Council. I wish to point out that notwithstanding the improvements effected we have a very wide field to cover in the matter of mass education or primary education. Even in 1917-18 we had about 175 villages with a population of 2,000; 1,312 villages with a population of between 2,000 and 1,000; 3,336 villages with a population of between 500 and 1,000; 5,000 villages with a population of between 200 and 500, and 16,902 villages with less than 200 not provided with schools. On the whole 24,170 villages are still unprovided with schools. In the matter of literacy we find that we have still to bring into the schools about 67 per cent of boys of school-going age. I only mention it to show that notwithstanding the progress which I must say has been made during the last seven or eight years, still there is a wide field to cover in the matter of improving the mass education."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"I must ask the Honourable Member to be as brief as he can. He has already taken 25 minutes."

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. KRISHNA RAO:—"I shall wind up in two or three minutes. If we are to have any further expansion of primary education, the time has come when you must take an early opportunity of introducing compulsory primary education. That has been referred to by other members and I need not detain the Council on it.

"The only other question on which I intend to make a remark is as regards medical relief because I know Your Excellency has been taking considerable interest in it. Your Excellency has been doing as much as can be done in the matter of providing additional medical relief in this Presidency and has been fairly liberal in the matter of making grants. But may I point out that we expect Your Excellency to go to the hearts of the people to a larger extent by giving encouragement to the indigenous systems of medicine? Your Excellency has been very liberal in affording facilities for opening additional hospitals and for making provision for additional

(Mr. Krishna Rao ; Mr. Littlehailes ; Mr. Siva Rao.) [7TH APRIL 1919.

sub-assistant surgeons under the allopathic system. But during the last few years various attempts have been made in this Council to induce the Government to take the further step of encouraging the indigenous systems; and at a certain stage Your Excellency showed a sympathetic attitude and got an officer appointed to investigate the drugs of the indigenous systems. May I hope, before Your Excellency closes your term of office, something will be done in a substantial manner to encourage these systems? It is after all for the sake of the people of the country that these institutions for medical relief are started; and when the people are resorting to these indigenous systems is it not reasonable and just that these systems should be encouraged and placed on a satisfactory footing? I would point out that a bolder attempt should be made to complete the investigation of Dr. Koman and then to give a definite allotment for the purpose of medical relief and medical education in the indigenous systems."

The Hon'ble Mr. R. LITTLEHAILES :—"Your Excellency, I think it will tend towards brevity if I take in the first instance the subject which has been touched upon by a large number of Honourable Members who have spoken to-day on the budget, and that is the subject of elementary education. We have been asked that it should be made compulsory, we have been asked that it should be made free, and that we should do a great deal more than we are doing now towards the extension of elementary education. So far as compulsory and free education is concerned, a very important part of the chapter on primary education found in the progress of education for the period 1912 to 1917 in the Quinquennial Review by the Government of India relates thereto. Towards the end of chapter 9 it will be found that in 1911-12 Sir Harcourt Butler hinted that the introduction of measures of compulsion in local legislatures would be the natural course. Subsequently, a Bill was introduced in the Bombay Presidency and that Bill was passed into law, and steps have been taken in various other presidencies with regard to compulsory education. With regard to free education we have according to our regulations provision for all those pupils who belong to the backward castes or classes being allowed free education right up to the eighth standard in elementary schools under public management. So that there is no restriction upon members of the depressed classes getting free education. Also it can never be said that the rules make it impossible for anyone being deprived of primary education on the ground of poverty even those who do not belong to the backward classes; the amount that they have to pay is very small. The average fee paid throughout India is only 14·7 annas per pupil per annum. So that any child has merely to pay something over one anna per mensem in order to receive elementary education. The Honourable Member representing the Ceded Districts, I think, asked in connexion with the expansion of elementary education as to what had happened to the Government of India resolution of 1913."

The Hon'ble Mr. P. SIVA RAO :—"I was referring to the circular of August 1918."

The Hon'ble Mr. R. LITTLEHAILES (*continuing*) :—"I beg his pardon, I missed what the Honourable Member said; I thought it was 1913. But with regard to the expansion I may point out again that the Government of India have laid down two lines of progress. On the one hand Bills are being introduced permitting the adoption of compulsion, and on the other hand the Government of India and the Local Governments have combined to allocate just as much funds for the purpose of education, largely elementary education as it is possible to find during the time of financial strain. As the financial strain is relieved, more funds will be available and greater expansion will be possible.

"The Hon'ble the Raja of Pithāpuram desired that particular attention should be paid to the extension of education for girls, and he brought to the notice of Your Excellency that Cocanada should have a high school. I may mention that Cocanada is already noted as one of the towns in which we shall introduce a high school for girls as soon as we can manage to get funds and teachers are available.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan touched upon Muhammadan education. I was rather surprised, Your Excellency, to find that he considered that the Muhammadan College in Madras was superfluous and that the Presidency College suffices for the purpose of educating Muhammadans. It is an attitude, Sir, which is rather different from what the Honourable Member expressed on a previous occasion.

"He desired to know what had happened to the provision for instituting a Government Muhammadan school at Trichinopoly. It was the intention of this department to take over the management of the aided school for Muhammadans in Trichinopoly and proceedings were going on in that respect, but the negotiations have, I regret to say, fallen through with the result that the department has now to turn its attention to the institution of another Muhammadan school at Trichinopoly itself. The provision of buildings for Muhammadan schools is noted and will receive attention as funds become available.

"Some Honourable Members desired a very much larger provision made on account of scholarships. The budget indicates a very considerable increase within recent years in the provision under scholarships. The budget provision for the current year is 1·93 lakhs; the provision last year was 1·70 lakhs, and the accounts of the year previous to that show 1·66 lakhs, which indicates that there is a gradual increase in scholarships and the need for offering encouragement and making provision for the higher education of the poorer classes who are men of distinct ability is not being lost sight of.

"Medical inspection of schools has an allotment of Rs. 14,000 in the budget, and if further allotment is required I have no doubt it will receive due consideration, but at present I am awaiting the reports which have been called for as to the means of various institutions and

various local bodies which are going to carry out the wishes of the Government which have been already expressed in the Government order on this subject of the medical inspection of boys in schools and colleges.

"I may now turn, Sir, to the subject of grants-in-aid. The Honourable Member who represents our University has scarcely appreciated the meaning of the figures under grants-in-aid as compared with the figures under 'Government schools—General,' and he quoted that the provision for grants-in-aid was 43·16 lakhs, and under 'Government schools—General' it was 46·67 lakhs. I should just like to invite his attention to the fact that under 'Government schools—General' are included institutions which are under public management, that is, not only schools under Government management but also schools under municipal management and the management of local boards. As a matter of fact out of this total of 46·67 lakhs, the amount which is allocated for 'Government schools—Proper' is 5·67 lakhs and the balance of 41 lakhs is money distributed to local boards and municipalities for the maintenance of their schools. The increase under grants-in-aid has been very considerable. It has increased from 33·52 lakhs in the accounts for 1917-18 to 38·74 lakhs in last year's budget and in the current year to 43·16 lakhs. There has been an increase of 10 lakhs in three years under the head grants-in-aid, which is a very large increase, and I hope it will meet the wishes of the managers of institutions which are maintained under the grant-in-aid system.

"There are two more points that I might mention. The first is in connexion with University education for which 1 lakh is provided. The Honourable Member for the University desired a further provision to be made in future years. I do not think that he is aware that the University has at present already at its disposal 6·25 lakhs for building purposes which includes this 1 lakh. That is the accumulated balance of the grants of various years which have not yet been spent and which are still available for the University. If the estimates for the buildings are increased beyond the resources of the University, the question will be reconsidered, but at present I do not think the University has any urgent need for an additional allotment for building purposes.

"Similarly with regard to the expansion of economics and economic work in the University. The University has decided that it can afford to pay for its University professor out of its own funds and the case of any further expansion can well be considered when it has been decided by the University to launch out upon this further expansion.

"Finally, Sir, there has been a desire shown for the attachment of technical and agricultural departments to elementary schools. That raises a very wide question. It raises a question which has been discussed to some extent in the report of the Industrial Commission and it raises a question as to how far there should be overlapping of ordinary elementary education with vocational training and then further overlapping to the exclusion of ordinary elementary education in favour of purely industrial training. At this stage of the budget I cannot enter into that general question, but I may say that this department is always lending a sympathetic hand to any manner of vocational training so far as it is possible to introduce it in elementary schools in order that the pupils may turn out to be men who have received some practical training."

The Hon'ble Mr. R. B. WOOD:—"Your Excellency, I have only a few words to say in answer to the remarks of the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju and the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar on the question of total prohibition in this Presidency. We have taken considerable steps in this direction of enforcing temperance in the way of reducing shops. In the past ten years I may bring to the notice of the Council that the number of arrack shops has been reduced from 10,000 to 6,600 since 1908; and the number of toddy shops has been reduced from 17,000 to 11,000. The decrease in both has been 65 to 66 per cent. It is possible that we have reached in many places the limits beyond which further reduction of shops is not safe. It must be remembered that some ten or twelve years ago the number of shops then in existence in the districts was fixed as the number that was required and a further reduction from 5 to 10 per cent was also allowed to Collectors as the limit beyond which they should not reduce. Then the members of the preventive staff to check illicit distillation and illicit toddy drinking were fixed, based upon the number of shops then existing and the areas which the preventive staff could superintend. Now the number of shops having decreased since then by 66 per cent, the preventive staff has got a far larger area to control than was intended at the time of formation, and in places there are dangerous signs that illicit distillation and illicit drinking is increasing beyond what we can control. Every step that you take towards further prohibition is a step in the direction of uncontrolled drinking which brings far more evil in its train than drinking within controlled limits. The Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar referred to the example of the United States in introducing total prohibition, and he might also have alluded to the case of Russia which in the beginning of the war introduced total prohibition. We have seen the result in Russia, and although one cannot say that it was entirely due to total prohibition, I do not think there can be any question that what has happened there supports what has been said by the Liquor Control Board in England, that the prohibition of drink to the manual worker is not fair and it always results in extreme dissatisfaction and also in bodily discomfort. It is all very well for members who do their work in their study or office, who are engaged in mental work and not manual work, to say that drink is a vice. If any of them were ever engaged in manual work in the fields, then I have no doubt their opinion will very soon change. I may mention that the Liquor Control Board at Home have issued several interesting publications and in one of them they point out that to prevent drunkenness and illicit practices it is necessary to have a steady supply of drink to the workers. They find that when drink became

(*Mr. Wood*; *Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar*; *Mr. Ramachandra Rao.*) [7TH APRIL 1919.

limited and the output of beer and spirits decreased by over 50 per cent in 1916-17 and the distribution of beer and spirits to the different towns and villages in the country became spasmodic and not sufficient for the demand of the labouring classes, one thing that happened was dissatisfaction and strikes and discontent among the labourers, and the other thing that happened was that the people made a rush to drink when it was available and there were far more cases of drunkenness than before when they could get a satisfactory and steady supply.

"I have already found that a similar sort of thing is happening in districts where I have had a certain amount of experience. When the number of shops has been unduly decreased and a labourer has to walk four or five miles before he can get a bottle of toddy he is not going to be satisfied with moderate drinking. In the first place his thirst has increased, and in the second place it is not worth walking five miles up and five miles back to have only one bottle and he must have something more. The result is that by decreasing the number of shops too much you have an increase of drunkenness and further you get your shops overcrowded and an overcrowded shop is a far greater nuisance to the locality and affords greater incentive to drinking than small shops where the only people that go are the people of the locality. I only mention these considerations to point out that to jump at total prohibition would be a very dangerous course which no Government can think of pursuing.

"As for America let me say one or two words. In the United States there have been several States already which had total prohibition and most people who have travelled through those States will tell you, that, although you have paper prohibition, you have not got it in practice, and that the American very soon learnt how to evade the laws made. In other words you get illicit drinking which is understood by every-one in the State.

"The question of revenue I entirely leave on one side. I presume when Honourable Members carry out total prohibition they will show how to make up the Rs. 300 or Rs. 400 lakhs which the Government will lose."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR :—"Your Excellency, I would with Your Excellency's leave just say one word with regard to the question of elementary education with special reference to Panchamas and other backward classes, about which the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar has made an eloquent appeal, his point of view being that, unless we make education compulsory, we will never be able effectively to reach these backward classes. I do not propose just now to go into the question as to whether compulsion is feasible or advisable, but there is one aspect of it which, I think, I might mention for the consideration of the Council. That is, at present so far as the Panchamas are concerned, the difficulty is not so much the need to put compulsion upon them to go to schools, but there is a very large bulk of elementary schools maintained out of public funds which shut them out. We all know the theory that no boy can be refused admission in a Government school or an aided school merely on the ground of his caste. That is the theory laid down so long ago as 1854, sixty-five years ago by the Court of Directors, and from time to time this theory was enunciated by the Secretary of State, once in 1863 and subsequently on different occasions. The Government have very recently been faced with continuous complaints that notwithstanding all that, the Panchamas are not being admitted in schools maintained out of public funds. When I say schools maintained out of public funds, I mean not merely Government schools which are quite a small number, but I mean municipal and local fund schools. The schools specially maintained for the Panchamas are so very few that they really do not attack the problem of education. We felt bound to make an inquiry, and orders were sent out to all local bodies to say how many schools were being maintained out of public funds and how many of them were really open to Panchamas."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—"Or whether they have Panchama pupils in these schools. That is a quite different question. I should like to know whether the Honourable Member has any information on the question whether in any particular Panchama schools which may be open to them they do not come in. That is a matter of general importance to municipalities and boards because as a matter of fact these schools are open to them, but they do not come."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR :—"Theoretically they may be open, but as a matter of fact this inquiry was made of the local bodies. The Honourable Member would see the reference to the local bodies and all their replies. They are going to be published and placed on the editors' table. The local bodies were directed to investigate and report in how many schools under public management which were not specially intended for Panchamas such boys were taken and if they were not admitted the reasons which lead to their exclusion. We find that out of a total of 8,157 schools under public management only 609 are really open to Panchamas and the reasons given to our inquiry as to why other schools are not open are very many. Some of them are the prejudice on the part of the higher castes which in some cases resulted in the withdrawal of their children from the schools or a threat to do so if the schools admited Panchamas, and the location of schools in agraharams, chavadis and temples, the objection of the owners of houses which are rented for the schools and the unsympathetic attitude of the landlords towards the education of the Panchamas and the ingrained reluctance on the part of Panchamas to assert their claims where they conflict with traditional usage and with class customs. It is a matter for the Council to consider whether this state of affairs in which out of 8,157 schools under public management only 609 are in fact open to a section of the population—between 16 and 20 per cent—whether that state of affairs can at all be justified. I am not here finding fault with anybody, but I am simply mentioning

to you a grave evil which does exist with the object of enlisting the sympathy of Honourable Members here and also of the wider public outside and the sympathy of all local bodies. I am sure that all of us are agreed that it is not possible to defend or justify the state of affairs under which, in spite of the heavy and increasing expenditure of public funds, a large section of the population is practically excluded from participation of the benefit which that expenditure is intended to confer. It is true that we have a provision for special schools for Panchamas in several places, but the Council will, I have no doubt, agree with me that the provision is possible only in a very limited number of cases and it can only afford a partial remedy and one which it is not desirable to perpetuate or accept as the final solution of the problem. The Government are now issuing orders impressing upon all local bodies the obligation which rests upon them to gradually but persistently strive and remove the disabilities to which the Panchamas are now subjected. I mention this particular serious evil, because the occasion has arisen and I want, before we finally dissolve, to make this appeal from my place in this Council chamber to local bodies all over the province to take this thing in hand. We are issuing orders to them and the whole correspondence will be published—the reference to all local bodies and their replies—so that the public will be in a position to see the real state of affairs. You may do anything in regard to free or compulsory education. I do not object to that. But whatever you may do, if you are going to have special schools for special classes on a large scale, it will mean a tremendous reduplication of educational institutions. It is to prevent that reduplication that this appeal is made. I trust that this order of the Government which is under issue and this appeal I have made will elicit the sympathy of local bodies all over the province and induce them to make determined efforts to admit Panchama children into the regular schools. Some of these difficulties are things which I know the local bodies may not be able to set right. For instance the unsympathetic attitude of the higher classes, what can a local body do for it? But local bodies can in other directions do something; if a school is in an unsuitable locality it is open to the local body to change it to another locality and insist upon Panchama students being admitted. The order will be issued and my only object now is to say that I consider this matter is a very urgent matter; this is a matter which we can do without legislation and without any very great change of system. In order to accomplish this we would need the sympathy and support not only of Honourable Members here but of the members of local bodies, and I trust that this appeal of mine will not have been made in vain and that in a few years we shall be in a position to say that every public school is not only theoretically open but in reality open to these backward classes. I have nothing further to say in regard to education."

The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. NARASIMHA AYYAR:—"I hope that this is not the only thing that the Government intend to do for the benefit of the Panchamas. There are a great many other things."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR:—"I thought the most pressing problem was to allow them into the schools, to throw open all public schools to them. That is an important point.

"Then on the subject of local bodies I would just refer to the premier local body on behalf of which the Hon'ble Mr. Ramaswami Ayyar has made a very strong appeal. So far as I could gather, he seems to think that this drainage and water-supply scheme is a thing that was all done by the Government and pushed upon the local body and it is one of the grounds on which he has claimed that that body should receive sympathetic consideration in the matter of financing of what is called the restricted programme with which alone we are now concerned. We are not carrying out the big programme. I am not aware that there was any particular pressure brought to bear upon the Corporation to accept any programme. I think they were very glad to have the town sewered and to have good drinking water. The cost of the restricted scheme is Rs. 124 lakhs for which the Corporation has up till now received 75 lakhs, 25 lakhs from the Imperial Government's grant and 50 lakhs from Provincial grants. Seventy-five lakhs of the general tax-payer's money has been given to the Corporation of Madras for their drainage and water works. In addition we have recommended to the Government of India a grant to them in continuation of another Rs. 12 lakhs—to allow us to grant another 12 lakhs which will give in all 87 lakhs. In other words the Corporation works costing 127 lakhs will in the end be financed by the general tax-payer of the province to the tune of 87 lakhs or 70 per cent of the total cost. I have no hesitation in claiming that the Government, far from having been niggardly towards the premier local body in financing important water and drainage works, have been very generous. If at all we have erred we have erred on the side of undue liberality. Honourable Members from the mufassal know that the usual rule is only a moiety of the cost. I am not viewing it from any technical aspect at all, but let me say that when the general tax-payer as represented by Government is paying to the tune of 70 per cent, we are also entitled to have a very substantial voice in seeing that that expenditure is properly incurred and we are entitled to claim that any advice which our expert advisers give in regard to that expenditure is given due consideration; and the very best claim that the Corporation can put forward to the continuance of this very generous treatment that they receive at the hands of the Government is so to conduct their administration as to convince the Government that a further grant of help will not be a profitless affair.

"I have got only one word to say about the Industries department. Several Honourable Members have referred to the work of the Industries department. I entirely associate myself with what the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hasan said, what a pity it is that Mr. Innes, when he had got into the full swing of that work, should have been taken away from us. But let me also

(Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar; Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao; the President; Mr. Davidson.) [7TH APRIL 1919.

point out that the department is now really marking time. The Honourable Member must be aware that the Industries Commission have reported and the Government of India have taken that report into consideration and that report is now referred to all local Governments for their remarks. So far as we are concerned, we are considering the matter and we will send up our report soon. I have reason to believe that the Government of India are very anxious to issue final orders on the report of the Commission soon. Whatever we do in Madras will depend not very much on what I may be forgiven for calling the ancient history of the subject, as to what we did in 1907 or 1912, but will depend upon the policy laid down by the Government of India on the report of the Industries Commission. The report is a detailed document and covers the whole ground of industrial and technical education and doubtless the Government of India will issue a pronouncement soon, after which we shall know where we stand. The Council may take it from me that the Madras Government will certainly not lag behind in giving effect to the policy as finally laid down for us by the Government of India after considering what the Industries Commission have said."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO:—"May I venture to suggest with reference to the remarks about the depressed classes that the order placing Mr. Paddison on special duty may be published?"

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"That will be published."

The Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON:—"Your Excellency, I propose in the few remarks that I am going to make firstly to deal with the Judicial Department. As to the comments made on the delay in taking action to improve the prospect and pay of the judicial officers, I think, Sir, there has been some misconception. I have referred to the debate on the subject which took place about two years ago on the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Ranga Achariyar and particularly to the answer given by the late Mr. Gillman. I think that was the occasion on which Mr. Gillman offered an expression of regret for the delay up to that date, to which the Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad was referring. I should like to quote his exact words. There were two questions in issue. One was the re-distribution of the courts in the Presidency and the other was the re-organization of the scale of pay. The re-distribution of grades and the transfer of courts from a temporary to a permanent basis are matters which arose out of Mr. Phillips' report. The question of the re-organization of the scale of pay originated in certain memorials submitted to the High Court and passed on by the High Court to the Government. What Mr. Gillman said was—'The main difficulty under which the members of this service labour may be said to be due to the number of temporary courts in the Presidency. It is certainly very important that these courts should be made permanent as soon as possible, and that there should be consequential regrading of the officers in the department. I am prepared to state for the information of the Council that the Government will undertake this matter at once—this question of making the temporary courts permanent and making recommendations about the consequential regrading.' That undertaking has been carried out, so far as it is within the province of Your Excellency's Government. A recommendation was made to the Government of India last year; the orders of the Government of India and the Secretary of State thereon are awaited. I thought that point has been sufficiently brought out in the discussion which took place on the Financial Statement meeting on the 5th of February. In answer to a question by the Hon'ble Mr. Ramanuja Achariyar I pointed out that the number of permanent courts and the regrading were still under correspondence with the higher authorities. All that I need say now is that the Local Government have proposed to make permanent a certain number of courts, and to regrade the officers on the lines which I then explained in detail. There is a lump provision of ·82 lakh for that in the budget for 1919-1920, and does not relate to any revision of the scale of pay. It has been suggested by one Honourable Member that there has been much shilly-shallying and another member said we have had enough of red tape and routine and surely the Government have had time to make up their minds. It is not that they have not had time to make up their minds but that the Government have deliberately refrained from asking for a revised scale of pay for the excellent reason that it is wrapped up with the proposals of the Public Services Commission. Until the proposals of that body together with the provisional conclusions of the Government of India thereon reach this Government, it would be clearly a waste of time to attempt to work out any revised scale of pay. I am telling the Council nothing new, because in the very speech of Mr. Gillman which I have quoted, dealing with the issue of the revision of pay he said, 'we are anxious to await the result of the inquiries of the Public Services Commission. We think that this commission is likely to make proposals for throwing open additional appointments of District and Sessions Judges to the members of the Provincial Service and on kindred matters. Their recommendations are likely to have a material effect on the prospects of the higher grades of Subordinate Judges'. He went on to say that immediate action was undesirable, and pointed out that as soon as possible the Government would take a further step in dealing with that question. It only became possible to take it up during the last few weeks. The Government of India, after receiving the Public Services Commission's recommendations, laid down a definite procedure in regard to them and intimated their intention of formulating their provisional conclusions before consulting the Local Governments on these questions; they have since been issuing letters and instructions both in regard to the general recommendations and in regard to particular departments. The letter of reference relating to the Provincial Judicial Service was only received in the end of February and we are at present awaiting the results of the consideration which the High Court is giving to those proposals. I think that is all I have to say about the provincial judiciary.

7TH APRIL 1919.] (*Mr. Davidson ; Mr. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar ; the President.*)

" The next department to which I propose to refer briefly is the Forest department. In the first place I should like, Sir, to say that the Government are fully alive to the importance of developing the resources of the forests of this Presidency. That aspect of the case has been brought out in the latest administration report and also in the course of the discussion which took place in this Council in February last when I made a special statement on the subject of the surplus realised by the department in order to explain certain difficulties which had occurred to the Hon'ble Mr. Ramanuja Achariyar. I then quoted from the administration report a passage emphasising the fact that after the war an increase in expenditure and a temporary decrease of revenue must be anticipated as considerable capital outlay would be necessary to develop the forests. Some provision for such capital outlay is included in the budget of 1919–20. Perhaps it may have a special bearing on the question of the development of the Forest department to make mention of the fact that before long the newly appointed Chief Conservator will take up his post. The officer-designate is Mr. Cox. He is a gentleman who is fully alive to the commercial side of forest management and the Council may rely upon him to keep the possibility of development always in the forefront. I may add that during the past two or three months I have had the advantage of consulting the Inspector-General of Forests, Mr. Hart, who passed through Madras on several occasions and who has recently made an inspection of important forest areas which I hope will bear fruit. I am sure his inspection notes will be very helpful in the direction of development.

" One Honourable Member — I think it was the Hon'ble Mr. Siva Rao — said that the question of the extraction of sandal-wood oil has not been seriously taken up, and another also commented on the possibility of development in that direction. The Forest department is fully alive to the advantages of developing the sandal-wood industry. A reference to paragraphs 6 and 7 of the latest Administration Report published by the Board will bring out the fact that working plans already exist for some of our chief sandal-wood areas and that during the last year a special working-plan was sanctioned for Salem and special expenditure was incurred on sandal-wood godowns and subordinates' quarters in the Javadi Hills which is the principal sandal-wood area while an important road leading from Komattiyeri in that area was opened soon after the close of the year. I merely mention this to show that the Forest department is alive to the development of sandal-wood. It is not the case that the matter has not been taken seriously on hand. There was one particular issue which came before me just after my assumption of this office in November last and I think that it gave me more trouble than any other subject. In November and December I had consultations with Mr. Hart, the Inspector-General of Forests, and Sir Thomas Holland and with officers from Mysore, two successive heads of the Forest Department and the Conservator. The matter was examined in the utmost detail and engaged the attention of all members of the Government of Madras, but no conclusion has yet been arrived at as to whether it is advisable or not to take up the question of the extraction of sandal-wood oil and if so whether this should be done in conjunction with the Mysore Darbar or independently. I may say that what chiefly suggested that departure was the large profits believed to have been derived in Mysore where there are extensive factories already in existence. There was an apprehension that the auction of sandal-wood would result in substantial loss. I am glad to say from the figures which have reached us in the last few weeks regarding the latest auctions that there need be no apprehension of any immediate or substantial loss of revenue from delay in taking up the extraction of sandal oil.

" In regard to the Irrigation department, if I heard him aright—I am not quite sure—the Hon'ble Mr. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar was apprehensive that the construction of the Kannambadi reservoir had in some way been responsible for the failure of irrigation supplies in the Tanjore delta this year. If that is his apprehension, I am glad to be able to assure him on the authority of the Chief Engineer for Irrigation that during the whole time of shortage of supply we in Madras were receiving the full natural flow of the river just as if there had been no reservoir.

" The Hon'ble Mr. Sadasiva Bhat referred to the delay on the part of the Railway Board in passing orders on Mr. Richards' report on the possibility of developing lines to the west coast."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. CHIDAMBARANATHA MUDALIYAR :—" May I say that, so far as I can judge from the figures given to me by the Government in reply to an interpellation of mine, there was very little difference between the previous year's and this year's average so far as the Kannambadi dam is concerned. Whereas when we go to the upper anicut we find that there is a great difference. In 1916——."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" I am afraid the Honourable Member cannot go into the whole question. If he has any doubt I would suggest to him to pay a visit to the Hon'ble Mr. Howley and discuss with him the figures bearing on this subject."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. CHIDAMBARANATHA MUDALIYAR :—" I wish to draw attention to that fact."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT :—" Will the Honourable Member kindly take that course."

The Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON :—" I had independently noticed in regard to one of the pending railway projects the unfortunate delay which has arisen out of the failure to pass orders on Mr. Richards' report at an earlier date. On that occasion I believe I gave instructions to the Secretary to write to the Railway Board to ask whether it was not possible to expedite orders. If no such letter has actually gone, I will see that one goes now. I certainly agree with the Honourable Member that an early decision should be arrived at.

(*Mr. Davidson ; Mr. Todhunter.*) [7TH APRIL 1919.]

"I have the honour, Sir, in conclusion, to refer briefly to the Police department. I do not propose to traverse the whole question of the administration of the department. That would not be possible now, but there are one or two points that I would like to mention. I think it was the Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar who took as an assumption the proposition that there has been a steady increase of expenditure in the Police department. Quite recently I have endeavoured to controvert that proposition in answering the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar at the meeting on 11th March last. I took my starting point somewhere about 1915 or 1916—I forget exactly—when Sir Harold Stuart justified the existing expenditure on the department and I believe I succeeded in showing that in the three years which followed the expenditure after the elimination of special factors represented an annual increase of only 0·6 per cent and I pointed out that even that small increment included exceptional items owing to the war. This proves that it is hardly safe to assume that in recent years at any rate there has been an increase of expenditure on the Police department by leaps and bounds or as the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju said 'passing all reasonable bounds'. It is quite easy to justify the increased expenditure on the Police department during the past few years.

"I must next to refer to one remark of the Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad with reference to the fact that the number of Indian District Superintendents of Police is limited to two at present. That is the case under Police Order No 43, but like the question of improving the pay and position of the subordinate judiciary the limitation is wrapped up with the recommendations of the Public Services Commission. I am glad to say, however, that the consideration of the case of the Police department has reached a further stage and the views of this Government in regard to the provisional conclusions of the Government of India have already been forwarded. I cannot go into the details of our recommendations, because they are under the consideration of a higher authority. But I may say they provide for a substantial addition to the number of Indian Officers in the department. That is an answer to the general issue.

"Before I sit down I desire to dissociate the Government entirely from the remark which the Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad attached to his plea for the creation of more superintendentships of police open to Indians. He drew a comparison between the distinguished services rendered by Mr. Parankusam Nayudu in Madras during the disturbunces in September and Mr. Karunakara Nayar during the Kamudi riots and the work of Mr. Elliot, the Superintendent of Police, who was in charge during the Madura riots. I am as ready to express my satisfaction as fully as the Raja with regard to the valuable services rendered by the two Indian officers but I cannot for one moment endorse his suggestion that the affairs during the Madura riots were badly handled by the European District Superintendent of Police. The issues raised by that unfortunate incident were discussed at some length in this Council and I gave it as the considered opinion of the Government that the Superintendent of Police was free from blame and that he was entitled to praise for the manner in which he conducted himself on that occasion and throughout the trying situations with which he had to deal before the actual disturbance took place. It would not be right for me to pass over without denial a statement which imputes to a deserving servant of Government gross mismanagement of a difficult position."

The Hon'ble Mr C. G. TODHUNTER :—"Your Excellency, sitting here under the torrent of facts, figures and criticisms that go to make up this stage of the budget debate, reminds me of nothing so much as bathing under the waterfall at Kuttalam—a very bracing and health-giving experience when one has time to go home and think it over, but one that leaves one breathless and bewildered when one first comes out from under the fall.

"Before attempting to answer any of the criticisms that relate to the departments temporarily under my charge, I am sure that Your Excellency would wish me, as filling for a few days the seat that you have filled so long, to acknowledge gratefully the compliments that have been paid to the budget that is yours. Honourable Members have been very generous in their appreciation of your efforts to make the most of the funds at your disposal in this first year after the close of hostilities.

"And in this connexion, I may perhaps be permitted to say a word in reply to what has been said as regards the feeling of despondency that follows the rejection of resolutions moved in this Council. In so far as the budget is concerned, the more successful we are in anticipating the wishes of Honourable Members in framing our estimates in the first instance, the less room is there for making changes at a later stage. I can assure Honourable Members that the views that they express in this Council are very carefully considered by Government from the beginning of the framing of the estimate. Even after this stage, there is a continual sifting of proposals for change. Thus, the Honourable non-official Members of the Finance Committee make proposals in writing, and I may mention that some of them, for instance, the Hon'ble Mr. Siva Rao this year, made quite a number of these. Of these, a number are adopted and the rest come up again at the meeting of the Finance Committee, where some more of them are carried after further argument and explanation. It is only the residue that come up for the third and final sifting in this Council. In considering the proportion of rejection, therefore, it must be remembered that it relates to the residue after these three sifting processes and that, if Honourable Members were to set down a list of the matters they wanted provided for before the budget was commenced and to see how far their wishes had been complied with in the final result, they would be surprised to find how high the proportion of acceptance was.

"To return to the simile of the waterfall, the deluge of facts and figures that has left me more bewildered than any other is that poured upon us by the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar, and although he has been good enough to supply me with a copy of his speech, I am afraid I am still not sure that I have caught the trend of his arguments. He accuses us in the first instance of an underestimate amounting to about one crore, which he arrives at apparently by

7TH APRIL 1919.] (*Mr. Todhunter; Mr. Rama Ayyangar.*)

adding together all the items of revenue in which there has been either an excess or a deficit in the revised estimate as compared with last year's budget and all the items of expenditure that have lapsed and all the new and unforeseen expenditure that has been incurred. Almost in the same breath, he suggests that abnormal increases of receipts under some heads should be balanced by similar losses under others. I put it to him that this is exactly what has happened in our revised estimate for 1918–19. Our revenue has fallen short to the extent of 14·75 lakhs under Land Revenue and 8·82 lakhs under Forest and we have increases of 21·52 lakhs under Excise, 3·82 lakhs under Jails and a net increase of 2·69 lakhs under other heads, bringing out a net final increase of only 4·46 lakhs over the budget for the last year. Similarly as regards charges, we have a decrease of 8·10 lakhs under Civil Works—Public Works Department and a net decrease of ·25 lakh under other heads, and an increase of 21·14 lakhs under Civil Works—Civil, which is due to the large grant to local bodies for the restoration of trunk roads. I put it to the Honourable Member that it is not humanly possible to estimate to a rupee the result, for instance, of what we may call the gamble in thirst, that is, the excise auctions; and if we bring out as a result an increase of only 4 lakhs on a budget of over 800, I think we may claim, if not that we have budgeted cleverly, at least that we have been fortunate in our results. As regards the expenditure side, I do not suppose that he would have wished us to forbear from giving the extra war allowance to poorly paid officers or the 20 lakhs for roads when we found that we had enough money in hand and that there was no other urgent demand for it.

"The Honourable Gentleman next says that we should keep a reserve of about 50 lakhs over and above the required closing balances to meet contingencies arising in the course of the year. But if I understand him aright, he objects to our meeting the war allowances to subordinates and grants to local bodies for restoration of roads out of just such a reserve which we had and the money that became unexpectedly available. Again, I put it to him that what we have done is just what he wishes us to do.

"He next compares our expenditure under certain heads, including Police, with those of some other provinces, especially with the United Provinces, and says that our expenditure under the Police head has increased from 80·45 lakhs in 1910–11 to 136·51 lakhs in 1919–20. In making this comparison, he overlooks the fact that in 1914–15 the charges on account of talaiyaris were added to the Police budget."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR:—"I have deducted 16 lakhs."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER:—"136 lakhs includes talaiyaris."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR:—"I have deducted 16 lakhs and taken only 120."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER:—"There was no corresponding increase in the United Provinces and consequently the comparison is not quite a fair one. If he wishes to make a comparison, let him make one with Bombay, which in the year 1914–15, in which we added the charges under talaiyaris to the expenditure under Police, was spending 104·25 lakhs to our 109·31 lakhs and in the budget for 1919–20 has put down 145·32 lakhs as against our 136·51 lakhs. I feel sure that when he realizes these figures he will be astonished at our moderation.

"I should also like to mention that he appears to regard a certain sum of 7·10 lakhs allotted to district charges as appertaining to the Police. I would point out that this is not a Police charge at all but belongs to the scheme for revenue district and divisional charges."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR:—"It is an assignment from the Imperial Government."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER:—"The Honourable Member's words were:—'Allowance was made for additional expenditure on the Police Department anticipated on the introduction of the scheme recommended by the Police Commission and a sum of 7·10 lakhs was allowed for additional district charges.'

"Another most vigorous critic is the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju. He charges us with lagging behind the other provinces. But I confess I cannot quite understand in what respect he holds us to be lagging behind. It was not in respect of incidence of taxation since he considers that under each head our incidence is too high, nor was it in respect of collection since he complained that we enforced this by more penalties than the other provinces. We must therefore, I presume, look for it on the expenditure side. The provincial contract, of course, is a matter which it is not open to us to discuss. If he considers, however, that we have been behindhand in utilizing the balances which have accumulated during the war, I should like to place some figures on that head before him. Madras, whose balances amount to only 196 lakhs as against a total of 1,751 lakhs for the rest of India, has budgeted for an expenditure of 75·25 lakhs from the balances as against a total of 212 lakhs for all the other provinces put together. In this case, I think we may stand astonished, if at all, not at our moderation, but at our recklessness.

"Another Honourable Gentleman who finds fault with our financial arrangements as a whole is the Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao. I will only touch on one of his arguments. He compared our arrangements unfavourably with those of Bengal and Bombay on the ground that we collect less income-tax. I put it to him that the capitals of those Presidencies are two of the largest ports in the world and that under no financial arrangement can we hope to secure from this province an amount of income-tax that would compare with theirs.

"I now come to the head of Land Revenue. Of the critics in this respect, the most outspoken again is the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar. He says that our settlement policy has been completely changed under Your Excellency's régime. He does not specify the nature

of the change nor am I aware that there is any ground for this sweeping assertion, unless it is that the processes have been considerably simplified.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Siva Rao considers that we have over estimated the land revenue receipts for the current year. I think, perhaps, he has overlooked the fact that there has been a considerable increase in remissions in the year which has just closed and that the estimates for the current year have been fixed on the assumption that the seasonal conditions will be normal.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju attacked us on the score of high cost of collection. In this connexion, I would refer him to Your Excellency's remarks in last year's debate. You pointed out to him that, if he had examined the figures in the budget, he would have found that they included 14 lakhs for Survey and Settlement, 30 lakhs for Land Records and 35 lakhs for village officers and that the actual cost of district administration was only 48 lakhs for the collection of 611 lakhs, i.e., much less than 10 per cent. I have not had time to follow completely the comparison he makes in this respect with the charges in the United Provinces. I can hardly think that he wishes to reduce the number of our Collectors. If we adopted the basis of area and population of the United Provinces, we should have 44 Collectors instead of 25. If we compare officers of the grade of Deputy Collector, we find a similar startling result. I can hardly suppose that the Honourable Member wishes to reduce either the number or pay of the hard-worked Tahsildars and Revenue Inspectors. If it is the village officers he has in mind, I think he will find several Honourable Members of this Council ready to oppose him. The fact is that the United Provinces budget contains no item corresponding to our charges for village officers, while at the same time, the settlement there is made with the village community, and not with the individual ryot; and this of course, in the case of Madras, involves much more detailed work than in the case of the United Provinces.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar and the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao pleaded for the improvement of the conditions of the Provincial Civil Service. I need hardly say that this is being fully considered in connexion with the Public Services Commission's report."

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO :—"The listed posts."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. TODHUNTER :—"Meanwhile, as regards the number of listed posts, I may point out that the members of that service are actually holding five appointments of and above the grade of Collector as against the two Collectorates that were originally listed.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar wishes to have quarters provided for revenue subordinates in mufassal stations. This is a project which the Government are willing to consider where there is difficulty in obtaining quarters, and I hope that, if a provision is made in future years on this account, it will not be regarded as a ground for attack on that unpopular head '45. Civil Works.'

"The Hon'ble Mr. Kavalappara Muppil Nayar made some remarks about the Wynad settlement. On this point I will only say that the matter has been fully inquired into and that it was found that the relinquishments or sales of land for arrears of revenue, which were apparently the cause of complaint, were due to peculiar circumstances prevailing in the Wynaad rather than to the introduction of settlement rates there.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Sadasiva Bhat referred to the question of remissions in South Kanara. The reasons why remissions are not ordinarily allowed in South Kanara are that the settlement contained certain provisions peculiar to that district as follows :—

(1) the usual allowance of 15 per cent for vicissitudes of season was allowed although in allowing it the Board of Revenue remarked that vicissitudes of season in the district were practically negligible;

(2) wet lands in the district which can grow a second and a third crop were assessed at a consolidated rate equal to $1\frac{3}{4}$ times the single crop rate of assessment;

(3) no second crop charge is leviable on single crop wet lands cultivated with a second crop;

(4) when dry lands are converted into wet or when uncultivated hill sides are converted into dry or garden lands no assessment is made for the settlement period.

"In the season of 1918, it was at first thought that there were conditions justifying the idea that the season was one of exceptional calamity. Further inquiry however showed that this could not really be said to be the case. It was only in certain villages in the sandy tract along the coast that there had been a complete failure of crop. At the same time the Collector found none of the materials which are available on the East Coast for determining the grant of remission or otherwise. In short, there is no question of remission in South Kanara in the sense in which the term is ordinarily used in the East Coast areas. On these considerations, the provision made in the Revised Estimate on the Collector's first report was struck out after a more detailed report had been received.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar complained generally that the provision that has been made for remission of revenue was inadequate. With reference to this, I can only say that the matter has been fully gone into by the Collectors and that full provision has been made for all that they asked for.

"The same Honourable Member wished that further provision should be made for the grant of loans for digging wells. As to this, I can assure him that we shall be only too glad to make provision for any reasonable expenditure on this account.

"The same Honourable Gentleman proposes that we should impose an export duty on industrial crops in order to increase the production of food supplies. This alteration of the tariff is not a question for this Council to decide upon. I would, however, remind him of the debate on a similar question that took place in this Council a few days ago. If he will study the suggestion more fully from the point of view of economics, he will not, I think, wish to pursue it further.

"The same Honourable Gentleman complained of the high cost of restoration of survey stones. My answer to this is that it is open to any ryot to keep his stones in order himself. The Government have no wish to employ any establishment for the purpose, and they would be only too glad if the ryots would attend to the renewal of stones and reduce this item of the budget to nothing.

"The criticisms on the matter of excise have already been dealt with by the Hon'ble Mr. Wood. I should, however, like to make one remark in reply to the criticisms of the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju. He found fault with us because of the large amount of our excise revenue and compared us unfavourably on that account with Bombay. I would put it to him that the proper test is the standard of consumption per head. If he will examine the statistics under this head, he will find that the consumption of country spirits in Bombay is more than three times that in Madras.

"Several Honourable Gentlemen referred to the question of food control, but there was nothing very specific in their complaints regarding the policy of the Government in this respect except for a proposal that the Government should finance local bodies in the matter of sales of food grains. I hope that under the arrangements that have recently been come to, the necessity for any such action is past.

"The Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad said that there was a widespread feeling that Government were supporting individual merchants in profiteering and that steps should be taken to correct this view. I cordially agree with the Honourable Member and I hope that he and other Honourable Members will make it their business whenever they meet with such absurd rumours to put the people right.

"The same Honourable Member wished us to follow the example of Mysore and quoted Mr. Banerji's speech to the Assembly. I have no wish to decry the efforts made in that progressive State. But I should like to quote Mr. Banerji to show that we should not be altogether wise to follow them in all their experiments. He said:

'We have given up the control of locally produced foodstuffs, as we found it impracticable . . . . We have abandoned commandeering on a large scale as it was attended with many disadvantages and yielded poor results . . . The situation is a constantly changing one and, as Sir M. Visveswarayya observed at the public meeting held on the 16th November last, "we must be prepared to revise our forecasts and plans and go on adjusting efforts to obstacles almost from week to week.'

"That is practically what we are doing here—adjusting efforts to obstacles almost from week to week.

"To other Honourable Members who are anxious for a much closer degree of food control, I would recommend a discussion with any gentleman who has lived in England when control was closest there. I think they would then agree with us in hesitating to proceed to extreme measures.

"In conclusion, Your Excellency, I am sure that the Council will concur with me in expressing our obligations to the staff of the Finance Department for the unceasing labour that has resulted in the production of this budget. The Honourable Members who ask that additional details should be given do not always, I think, realize how great is the task involved in getting ready from constantly altering materials the complex figures which the budget includes. We all know the pathetic description of the Indian ryot

'His life is a long-drawn question
'Between a crop and a crop.'

"I do not know if we are all equally familiar with the two lines that precede these :—

'He eats and hath indigestion,
He toils and he may not stop;
His life is a long-drawn question
Between a crop and a crop.'

"These lines seem to me a more appropriate description of the life of the Budget Superintendent in the budget season than of that of the ryot. The Budget Superintendent is the *croupier* of the gamble in rain and spends his days and nights raking in the lapses of the departments which are unable to spend their allotments, and shovelling out additional sums to those to which, through good luck or necessity, additional payments are due. Meanwhile he presents to the officers responsible for the budget a constantly changing and bewildering kaleidoscope of figures. This means a toil which is literally unceasing, while the budget season lasts. He eats and sleeps when he can, and even his tiffin rooms have gone to make way for this Chamber. The work is done with great rapidity and unfailing accuracy and the debt we all owe to the Assistant Secretary and his staff is a great one."

His Excellency the PRESIDENT:—"We have had a long day of speeches and I do not propose to add a lengthy one. I propose to say a few words on the general outline of the budget and the financial position of the Government. The budget has come in for some amount of criticism because of its being a deficit budget and on account of the fact that it makes a draft upon our balances. A year ago there was a great deal of criticism of this Government, because

(*The President.*) [7TH APRIL 1919.

they failed to apply to the Government of India for permission to draw from these balances when you have what is known as a deficit balance. When this Government following the advice of various Honourable Members do what they recommend, the result seemed to be to make the Honourable Members change their minds to the opposite course, which is disappointing to those who endeavoured to meet their wishes. I should like to suggest that for a province like Madras which is going before the Government of India with the plea that it is very much overtaxed and that the proposed financial relation is unfair it is not wise to have large balances for the Government of India to take away and also it does seem to be wiser that when the Government of India are kind enough to give us Rs. 75 lakhs that we should spend it for the benefit of the general tax-payer, who has paid it in this Presidency, instead of leaving it to the uncertain future in the hands of our bankers, the Government of India. I feel quite at one with the policy which the Government have got of finding finances from the balance, not that I am prepared to say that the financial future of the Presidency is altogether satisfactory. I look upon it with considerable apprehension because I notice in this Council—I have no doubt that this Council faithfully represent the views to a large extent of a large proportion of the educated classes outside—a tendency to attack the sources of revenue on which the financial stability of this Government depends. Taking land revenue, for instance, we have had the Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao, who has told us that many resolutions, in the last two or three years, the object of which was to restrict the existing revenue and to prevent its expansion, were rejected. It is true that hitherto these resolutions have failed to be carried, but when there is, as there will presumably be in a short time an elected majority in this Council, I feel very uncertain what will be the future of that great item of revenue on which a large portion of the resources of the Presidency depends. And the other great item of revenue is in an even more parlous condition, that is excise. There again as pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Wood and the Hon'ble Mr. Todhunter there seems to be a steady inclination on the part of non-official Members of this Council to endeavour or at any rate to express a wish to cut down that revenue as far as possible. I must confess that if this sentiment were ever carried into action I think the difficulties of this Government will be very great indeed because land revenue and excise together account for 6 crores out of 8½ crores of the Provincial expenditure. What I would suggest to Honourable Members is that one of the most important questions is whether the people of this Presidency when represented, as they will be, by an elected majority, wlll be prepared to tax themselves. As regards that I see various ominous symptoms. I see no tendency of local bodies to tax themselves which is naturally unpleasant, and I see their desire to get the Provincial Government rather than themselves to share the burden, which they should naturally bear. I doubt whether when we have got the Elementary Education Bill which is now before the Government of India and which Honourable Members are anxious to see introduced here—I very much doubt whether the necessary extra taxation which will be involved will be received with enthusiasm by the people of the country. There is this to be remembered that unless the representatives of the public when they obtain the control of this Council are prepared to pay for all the advantages which they wish to enjoy, responsible Government will mean nothing but stagnation. That is a proposition which it behoves I think everybody interested in the progress of the Presidency to ponder over very carefully.

"As regards our present position and our present relations, some despondent views have been expressed. I hope they are exaggerated. The Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao mentioned that he had found the official vote very trying to his temper. I sympathize entirely with the Honourable Member and I cannot refrain from bearing witness on this occasion—it may be the last that I shall have—to the admirable temper and admirable patience and forbearance with which the Honourable the non-official members have, year after year, time and again, seen their proposals defeated by the official vote. Although the Honourable Member says it has tried his temper evidently, he has been a complete master of it as no real sign of this strain appears as a matter of fact. I think that we have reached a point in this Council where on certain questions the Government's and the non-officials' views have been so clearly defined and are so clearly irreconcilable that further discussion of the principles is calculated to irritate both sides. For instance both on land revenue and excise I doubt whether either side is ever likely to be able to convince the other. My own opinion is, under the constitution which we have now got we have almost reached the limit of progress possible; and therefore in these particular matters it is only possible for us to agree to differ. At present the responsibility rests with the Government and they must therefore control the issue. If that responsibility is changed the whole position will be changed. But then I should look with the greatest sympathy and hope and interest to the future of this Council for the results which it achieves in the management of the new duties cast upon it. I do not think I need detain the Council any longer. There is no prospect of any further meeting of the Council and therefore the Council will adjourn *sine die.*"

H. G. STOKES,
Acting Secretary to Govt., L. & M. (Legislative) Dept.

[Appendix.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

BUDGET FOR 1919-1920

CONTENTS

	PAGE
MEMORANDUM BY THE FINANCE MEMBER PRESENTING THE BUDGET FOR 1919-1920	1047-1049
PART I	
BALANCE STATEMENT OF PROPOSED RECEIPTS AND CHARGES FOR 1919-1920, EMBODYING ALSO THE REVISED AND BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1918-1919 AND THE ACCOUNTS FOR 1917-1918	1050-1051
PART II	
MEMORANDUM BY THE CHIEF SECRETARY EXPLANATORY OF THE FIGURES UNDER EACH MAJOR REVENUE HEAD AND UNDER EACH MAJOR EXPENDITURE HEAD OF ACCOUNT.	
Introductory	1052-1053
I. & 3. Land Revenue	1053-1055
IV. & 6. Stamps	1055-1056
V. & 7. Excise	1056-1058
VIII. & 10. Income-tax	1058-1059
IX. & 11. Forest	1059-1060
X. & 12. Registration	1060-1061
1. Refunds and Drawbacks	1062
2. Assignments and Compensations	1062
XII. & 13. Interest	1063
18. General Administration	1064
XVI-A. & 19-A. Law and Justice—Courts of Law	1064-1066
XVI-B. & 19-B. Law and Justice—Jails	1066-1067
XVII. & 20. Police	1067-1069
XVIII. & 21. Ports and Pilotage	1069
XIX. & 22. Education	1069-1074
XX-A. & 24-A. Medical	1075-1077
XX-B. & 24-B. Sanitation	1077-1079
25. Political	1079
XXI-A. & 26-A. Agriculture	1079-1081
XXI-B. & 26-B. Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments ..	1081-1083
XXII. & 29. Superannuations	1083
XXIII. & 30. Stationery and Printing	1084
XXV. & 32. Miscellaneous	1085-1087
33. Famine Relief	1087
XXIX. & 42. Irrigation—Major Works	1087-1089
XXX. & 43. Minor Works and Navigation	1089-1090
XXXI. & 45. Civil Works	1090-1093